R E P O R T R E S U M E S

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THE NEGRO POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY- TAEUBER, KARL E. TAEUBER, ALMA F.

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THIS EXTENSIVE SURVEY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO POPULATION IS BASED ON DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION DERIVED FROM CENSUS DATA. ALTHOUGH THE CATEGORY "NEGRO" IS ARBITRARY, IT IS FELT TO BE A SUFFICIENTLY PRACTICAL TERM FOR ESTABLISHING SOCIAL IDENTITY. THE HISTORICAL GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES ARE TRACED FROM THEIR ARRIVAL IN VIRGINIA IN 1619 AS SLAVES THROUGH THEIR SUBSEQUENT MOVEMENT WESTWARD THROUGH THE SOUTHERN STATES AND INTO THE NORTH. THE MAJOR NORTHWARD MIGRATION FOLLOWING EMANCIPATION BEGAN ABOUT 1915 BECAUSE OF THE "PUSH-PULL" FACTORS OF AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION IN THE SOUTH AND INDUSTRIAL MANPOWER NEEDS IN THE NORTH. URBANIZATION AND METROPOLITANIZATION TRENDS FOR BOTH THE NEGRO AND THE GENERAL POPULATION ARE DISCUSSED IN TERMS OF REGIONAL MIGRATION, SUBURBANIZATION, AND URBAN RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION. ONE SECTION OF THE ARTICLE IS DEVOTED TO HOUSING AND HOMEOWNERSHIP. ANOTHER PART DESCRIBES THE VARIETY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS FACED BY NEGROES--POOR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, LOW OCCUPATIONAL AND INCOME STATUS, FAMILY AND FERTILITY PATTERNS, AND MORTALITY AND HEALTH. COMPARISONS OF NEGROES AND WHITES ARE MADE THROUGHOUT THIS SURVEY. THE DATA ARE PRESENTED IN 12 FIGURES AND 23 TABLES. A BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHY ACCOMPANIES THE ARTICLE. THIS ARTICLE IS PUBLISHED IN DAVIS, JOHN P., ED. THE AMERICAN NEGRO REFERENCE BOOK. ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, N.J., PRENTICE-HALL, C1966. P. 96-160. (NH)

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chapter 2

The Negro Population in the United States

Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber

Both Negroes and whites originally came to North America as immigrants, and the history of their settlement is only a few hundred years old. Most of the white immigrants came in search of an increased measure of freedom and enlarged opportunity. Most of the Negro immigrants came after losing their freedom, in the bondage of others. As the years went by, both groups expanded in number, and participated in the settling of a continent and the creation of a gigantic urban and industrial nation out of a small number of agricultural colonies. In this chapter, many of the ensuing social transformations are traced with the aid of population statistics from a long series of national censuses.

Data from the censuses tell a story of increasing numbers of Negroes and whites, of expanding Negro settlement in the South, and then in the cities of the North and West. Other data tell of the characteristics of Negroes today, their social and economic status, their housing, the rates at which they give birth and the rates at which they die. The charts and tables that tell this story are, like pictures, worth thousands of words. The reader who examines the charts and tables will find far more information than can be conveyed in the text, and will be able to form his own conclusions.

A few words of introduction to census data may help the reader of this chapter and several later chapters. The category "Negro" as used in census publications is a peculiar one. It is arbitrarily designed for simple application and does not convey any biological, anthropological or legal meanings. A person who appears to be or claims to be white is so listed. Everyone else is regarded as nonwhite and classified according to "race" as Negro, Indian, Japanese, Chinese, etc. Taking a census is a massive operation, and it is not possible to make finer distinctions. The color-race classification used by the census is merely a rough estimate of the person's social identity in his local community.

In this volume, attention is centered on the Negro population. Sometimes, however, data will be presented for nonwhites. In 1960, Negroes made up 92 percent of all nonwhites in the country. Except for a few areas (mainly in the West) containing large numbers of Indians, Orientals or other non-

ED 004 226

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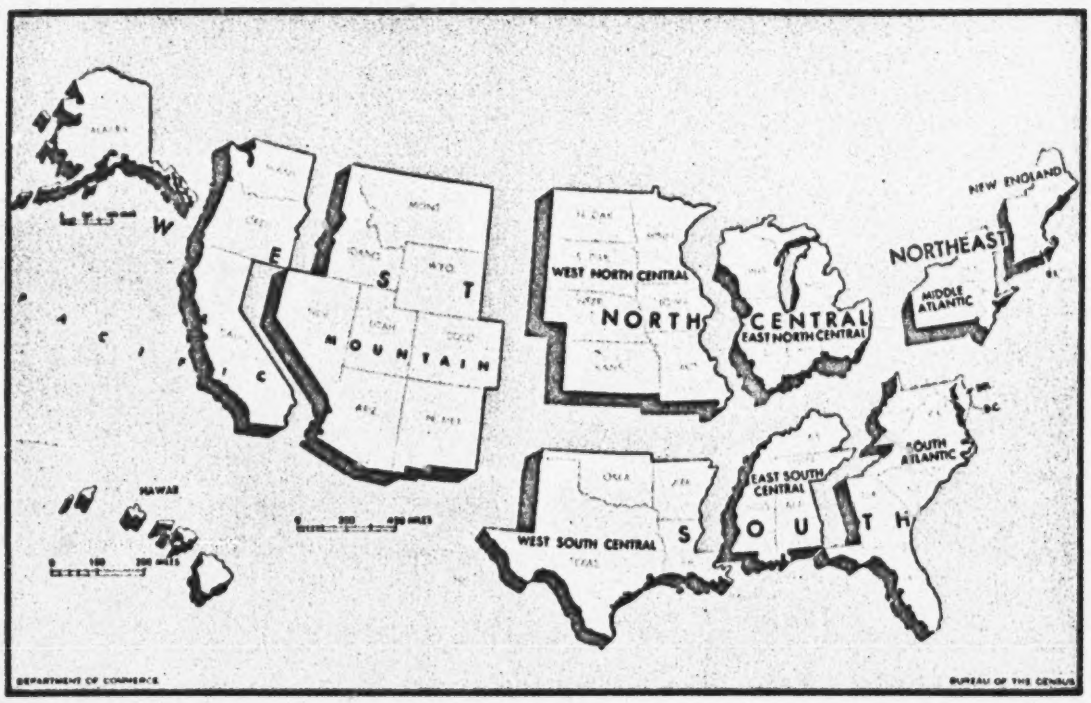
FIGURE 1—Regions and Geographic Divisions of the United States



whites, figures for nonwhites may be regarded for practical purposes as referring to Negroes.

Many people attribute too much accuracy to statistical data. It is important to realize that a census is taken by tens of thousands of enumerators, administrators and other personnel, and many errors are possible. Although the 1960 census reported a total Negro population of 18,871,831, nobody would claim that the last few digits are precise. Furthermore, it is not important whether they are, since to know that there were in 1960 about 19 million Negroes is quite accurate enough for almost any purpose. The data presented are not perfectly accurate, but they are more accurate than anybody's guess.

There are many ways of dividing the country into North, South and West. Census data are usually presented for four geographic regions, or nine geographic divisions, portrayed in Figure 1. In this chapter, "the South" refers to all those states in the three southern divisions; the "West" refers to those states in the Mountain and Pacific divisions; and "the North" refers to all other states. The term "conterminous United States" refers to the first forty-eight states, excluding Alaska and Hawaii.

GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION

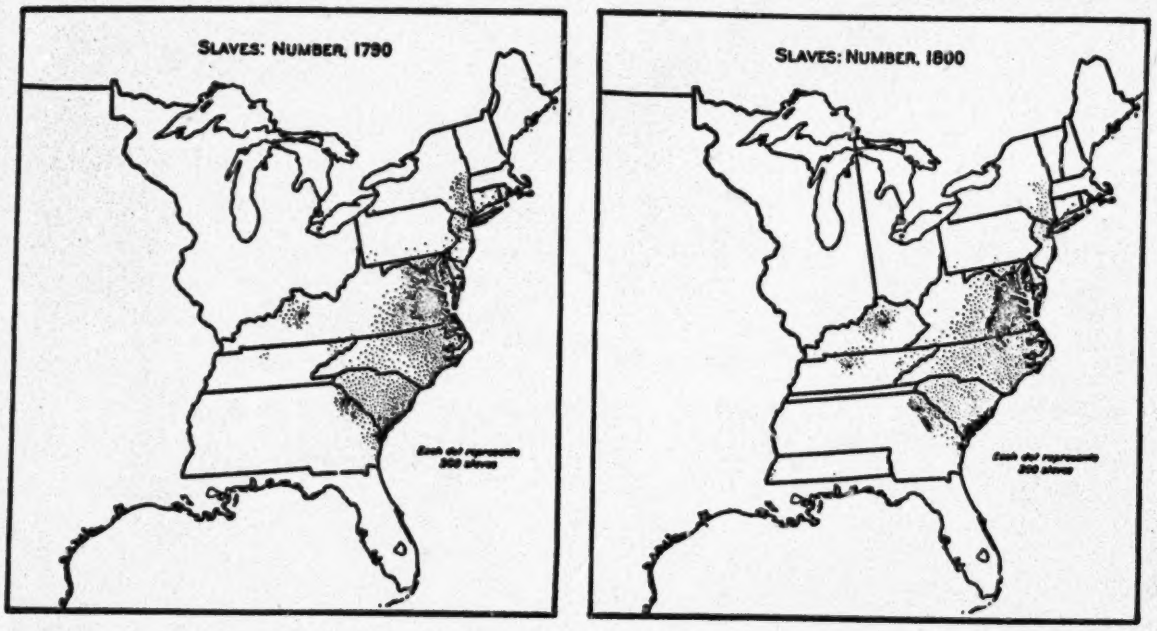
The history of Negro population is one of gradual obliteration of the slave heritage of southern rural residence and depressed social and economic status. In the decades since Emancipation, the Negro population has been approaching a pattern of distribution and of social characteristics increasingly like that of the white population. At the time of our first national census in 1790, the total population of the new nation was about four million, 3.2 million whites and 757,000 Negroes. Nearly all of the Negroes were slaves, and nearly all lived in the South. On the eve of the Civil War the situation of the Negro population was not greatly different. In 1860, there were about 4.4 million Negroes in the United States—more than the total national population at the time of the first census. Nearly 90 percent were slaves and more than 90 percent still lived in the South. In the one hundred years since Emancipation, however, there have been dramatic changes. The Negro population increased to 19 million in 1960, of whom 7.5 million lived outside the South and 14 million lived in cities.

The Spread of Slavery

Many of the current features of Negro population distribution are the product of patterns laid down before the Revolutionary War and the formation of the United States. The southern colonies developed as suppliers of agricultural commodities to Britain, and plantation agriculture proved to be an efficient means of exploiting some of the rich resources of the region.

The first ship bringing Negroes to the colonies reportedly arrived in Virginia in 1619. From this beginning, an agricultural system utilizing slave labor was gradually developed and expanded. Slaves were used in the raising of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland before 1700, and spread into South Carolina and Georgia with rice cultivation after 1700. Cotton was not a big crop until later, but once under way in South Carolina and Georgia, it spread rapidly. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 led to an increase in the efficiency of slave labor. With the depletion of much of the land in the eastern portions of the South, there was a westward expansion of cotton and tobacco cultivation, and of slavery. The maps in Figure 2 reveal very clearly this westward movement as well as the heavy concen-

FIGURE 2—Geographic Distribution of Slave Population, 1790, 1800, 1830 and 1860



SOURCE: E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), Maps II, III, IV, and V.

trations of Negro slaves in selected agricultural areas of the South, and their virtual absence from other areas—particularly the Appalachians and the Ozarks.

The slave trade flourished well into the nineteenth century, despite its legal abolition in 1808. It is estimated that about 400,000 slaves were imported between 1619 and 1808, and another 270,000 entered illegally after 1808 to meet the continuing demand for agricultural labor.

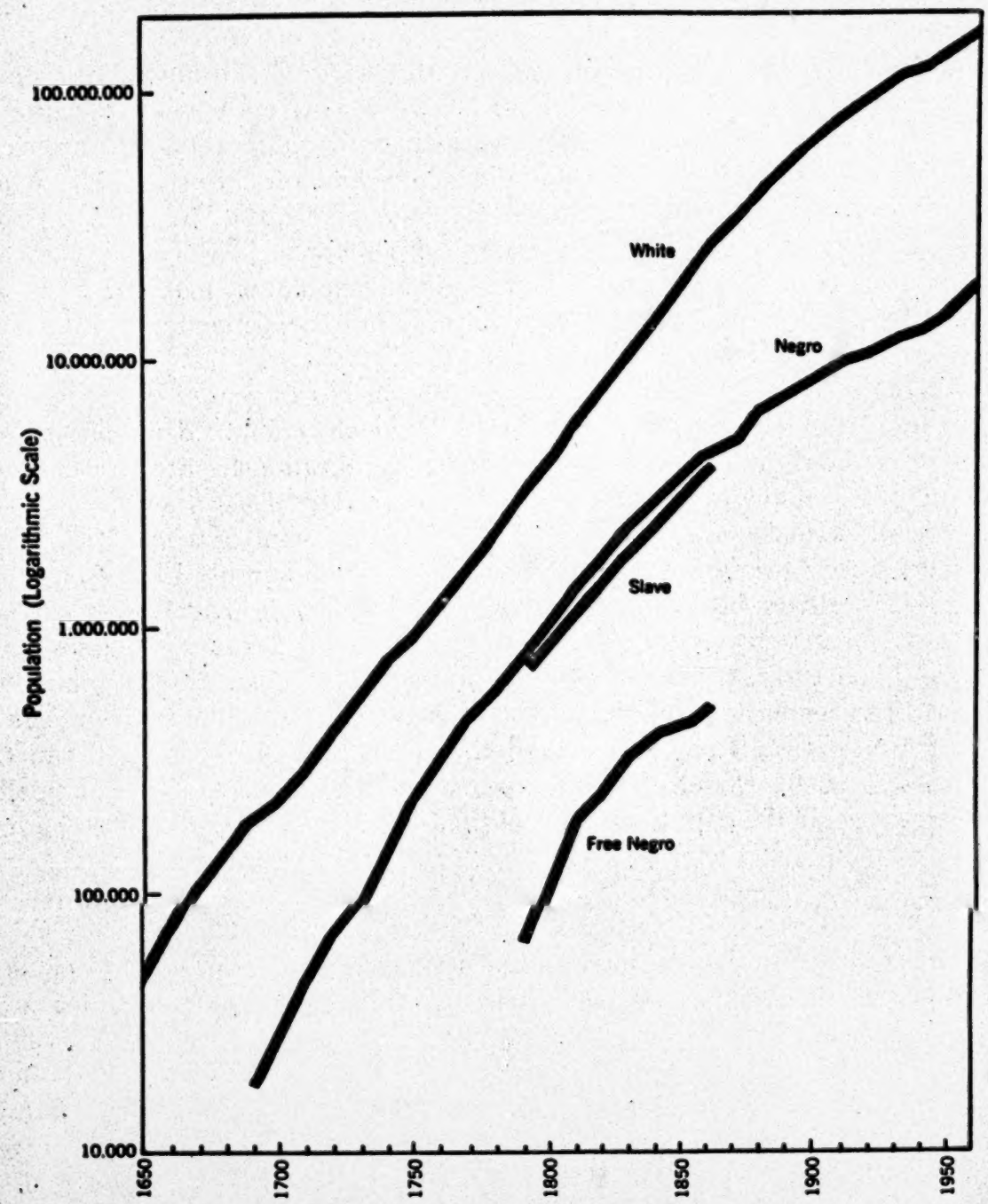
For Negro slaves, there was always some possibility, however slight, for a change in status from slave to free. Because of the constitutional provision that slaves counted only three-fifths as much as free persons in determining congressional representation, the 1790 census and subsequent censuses to 1860 counted the number of Negroes who were slave and the number who were free. Although manumission became increasingly difficult as various Southern states enacted legislation discouraging it, the free Negro population grew, being added to by births occurring to free Negroes, by legal abolition of slavery in Northern states and by the escape of slaves into freedom. In 1790, about 8 percent of Negroes were free and the other 92 percent were slaves. In 1830, about 14 percent of all Negroes were free, but during the decades before the Civil War the growth of the free Negro population slowed and by 1860 this percentage had slipped back to 11.

The slave population was very heavily concentrated in the South. In fact, slavery outside the South after 1830 was found almost exclusively in Missouri. Free Negroes, on the other hand, were more equally divided between North and South, with about 40 percent living in the North. At a time when only a small portion of the white population and an even smaller portion of the slave population lived in cities, many free Negroes found that large cities offered greater freedom and wider opportunities for earning a living. Sizable free Negro colonies appeared in several cities of the South —Baltimore, Washington, New Orleans, Charleston, Richmond and Petersburg. In the North, Negro population (virtually all free) was concentrated in Boston, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati and Philadelphia. Despite discrimination and restrictive legislation, free Negroes in cities held a variety of skilled jobs and in many cases owned property and voted. In general, however, the economic circumstances of free Negroes were precarious, whether in large cities or rural areas.

Growth of White and Negro Population

The population of the colonies in 1650 included an estimated 1,600 Negroes and 48,768 whites. During the next three centuries, both groups grew rapidly, although their periods of rapid and slow growth did not

FIGURE 3—Population of the United States by Race, 1650–1960



SOURCE: 1650–1950 from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Series Z 1–19 and Series A 95–122; 1960 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary,* Final Report PC (1)–1B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 44.

always coincide. By 1960, there were in the United States 18.9 million Negroes and 158.8 million whites. The patterns of growth from 1650 to 1960 are portrayed in Figure 3.

The relative proportions of Negroes and whites in the population have varied considerably throughout our history. This is shown in Figure 4. During the colonial period, there was little new immigration of Europeans, but continued importation of slaves. Negro population grew at a faster rate than white population, and the percentage of Negroes in the total rose from 1.3 percent in 1630 to a peak of 21.4 percent in 1770. During the next fifty years, both Negroes and whites gained population mainly by natural increase, the excess of births over deaths, and the percentage of Negroes remained close to 20.

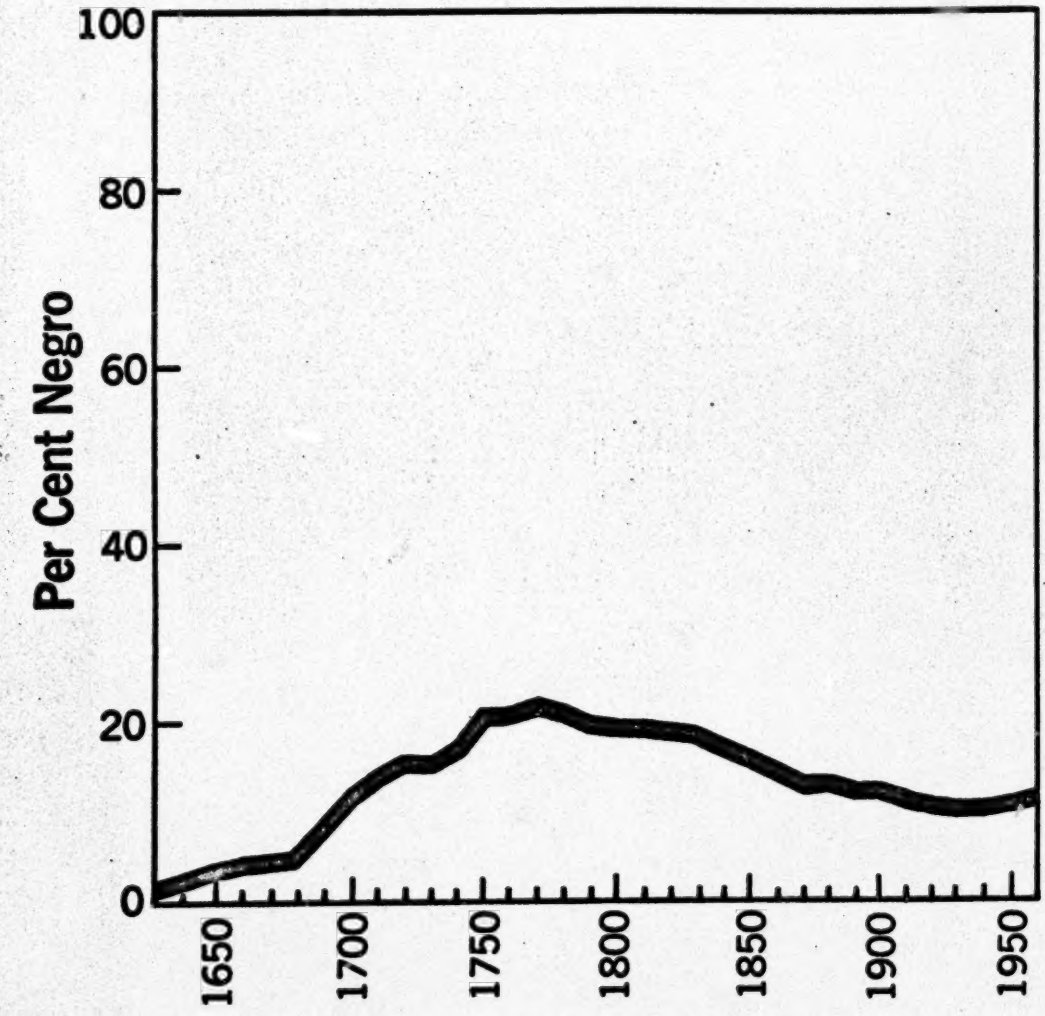
Since the Civil War, the Negro population has increased very little due to immigration. The white population, however, embarked upon a period of very rapid growth as the great period of migration from Europe began. Millions of immigrants were added to a high rate of natural increase. The percentage of Negroes declined, reaching a low point of 9.7 in 1930. With restrictive legislation choking off the flow of immigrants from Europe in the early 1920's, both white and Negro populations in recent decades have grown mainly by natural increase. During these decades, Negroes have been increasing at a slightly faster rate, and their share in the population has been increasing slowly. By 1960, Negroes constituted 10.6 percent of the United States population, and this figure may increase slowly in the years to come. Nonetheless, Negroes will continue to comprise a smaller percentage of the population than at the time of the founding of the country.

Regional Distribution

Although many free Negroes and a small share of the slave population lived in the North, the overwhelming bulk of Negro population until recently was concentrated in the South. At every census from 1790 to 1900, at least 90 percent of the Negro population of the United States lived in the South (Figure 5). In 1910, 89 percent of Negroes still lived in the South, but the percentage fell in succeeding decades, to 85 percent in 1920, 77 percent in 1940 and 60 percent in 1960. The reverse pattern, of course, is apparent for Northern and Western states. Prior to 1900, states outside the South never contained more than 10 percent of the Negro population, but by 1920 they contained 15 percent, by 1940, 23 percent, and by 1960, 40 percent.

It is clear that the last few decades have been a time of great migrations for Negroes. Millions of Negroes made the long journey from South to

FIGURE 4—Percent Negro of Total Population in the United States, 1630–1960



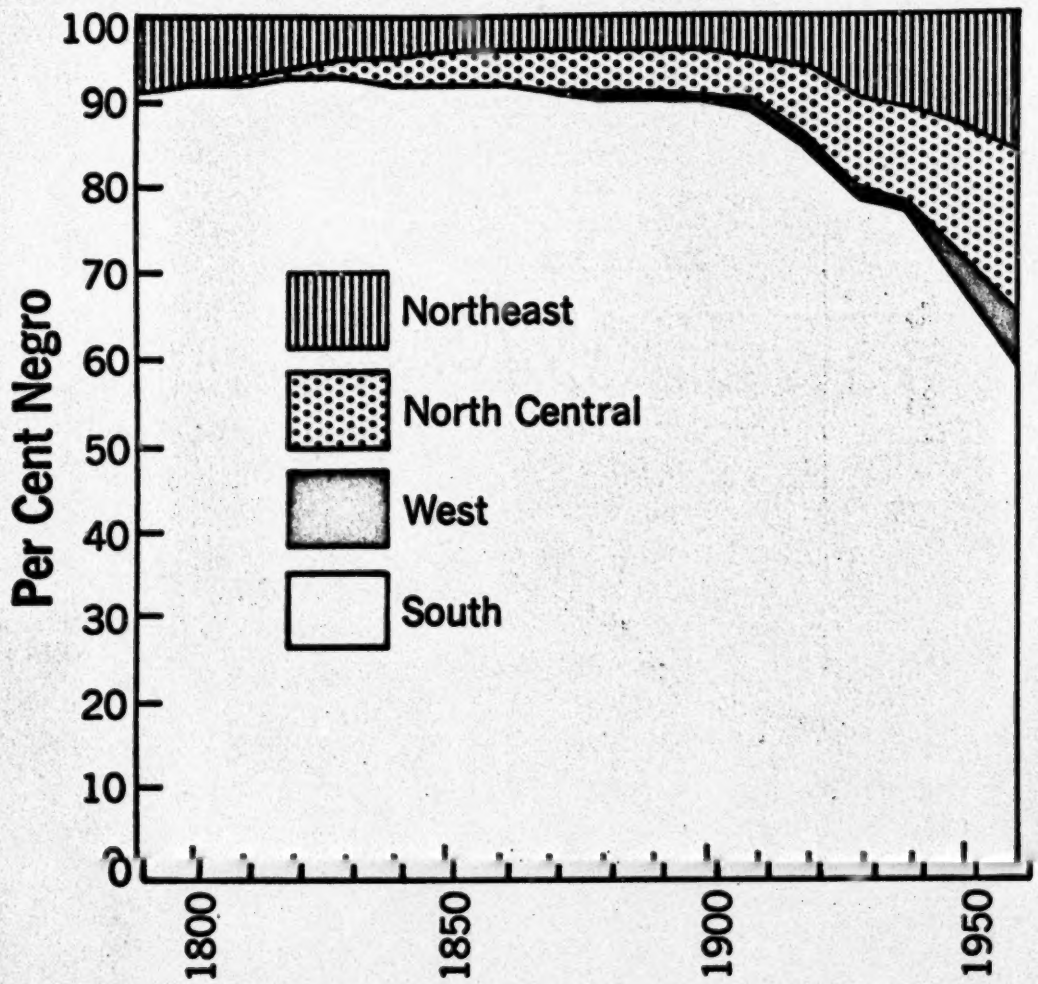
SOURCE: Donald J. Bogue, *The Population of the United States* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959), Table 7–2; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Series Z 1–19; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary,* Final Report PC(1)–1B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 44.

North or West. After a century of relative stability in the regional distribution of Negro population, amazingly rapid and profound changes have taken place within the last fifty years.

For nearly fifty years before 1910, however, Negroes had the freedom to

move. The freedom to move was granted with Emancipation, and there are many reports of newly freed slaves testing their freedom by moving to another farm, village, county or state. During the decades following the Civil War, there was a continued westward settlement within the South

FIGURE 5—Percent Distribution by Region for Negroes, 1790–1960



SOURCE: 1960 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary,* Final Report PC(1)–1B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 57; 1790–1950 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Series A 95–122.

carrying increasing numbers of Negroes as well as whites into new agricultural lands in Louisiana and Texas. Within the North there was also westward movement into Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, with a few Negroes

accompanying the many whites settling these states. Yet there was very little movement of Negroes from South to North for fifty years after Emancipation. During the war and its aftermath, thousands of Negroes migrated to Washington, D.C. and even further north, but hundreds of thousands of Negroes remained near where they had lived as slaves.

The explanation for the stability of Negro population in the decades following Emancipation must lie in the failure of Emancipation to bring with it any organized programs to provide Negroes with new means of earning a livelihood. Many plans were considered, and some tried on a small scale, but for a variety of reasons the Reconstruction programs never included any major effort to alter the economic circumstances of Negroes. Colonization abroad was discussed then as in later times, but never undertaken on a large scale. Utilization of Negroes in the expanding industrial cities of the North was ruled out by prejudice, lack of effort and the continuing availability of millions of European immigrants. Major governmental programs would have been necessary to provide large quantities of land for Negro agricultural settlement either on new farm lands in the North and West or by facilitating Negro land ownership in the South. Neither did the newly freed Negroes find many new economic opportunities in Southern cities, where they had to eke out an existence earning wages in competition with whites and with skilled and experienced Negroes who had been free before Emancipation. Furthermore, after the war, the high price of cotton eased the process of Southern economic recovery and encouraged the continued use of Negro labor on white-owned farms and plantations, under new forms of tenancy. One result was a high degree of stability in Negro population distribution.

No one of the major regions of the country is homogeneous, and there are wide differences within each region in the distribution of Negro population. During the last century, for example, the movement of Negroes from South to North has meant a decline in the percentage of Negroes in the population of the South. Whereas in 1860 Negroes comprised 37 percent of the total, in 1960 they comprised 21 percent. In Kentucky, however, the change was from 20 to 7 percent, while in Mississippi it was from 55 to 42 percent. Full data on the Negro population in each state in 1860, 1910 and 1960, and the percentage of Negroes at each date, are given in Table I. Differences between states in their response to school desegregation and many other aspects of race relations can be traced in part to differences in population such as those found between Kentucky and Mississippi.

Similar arguments about variation in Negro population distribution can be applied to states. Southern states with high percentages of Negroes may have some counties where Negroes form a vast majority of the population,

TABLE I—Negro Population and Percent Negro by States, 1860, 1910 and 1960

State	Negro Population			Percent Negro		
	1860	1910	1960	1860	1910	1960
NORTH	340,240	1,027,674	6,474,536	1.7	1.8	6.7
New England	24,711	66,306	243,363	0.8	1.0	2.3
Maine	1,327	1,363	3,318	0.2	0.2	0.3
New Hampshire	494	564	1,903	0.2	0.1	0.3
Vermont	709	1,621	519	0.2	0.5	0.1
Massachusetts	9,602	38,055	111,842	0.8	1.1	2.2
Rhode Island	3,952	9,529	18,332	2.3	1.8	2.1
Connecticut	8,627	15,174	107,449	1.9	1.4	4.2
Middle Atlantic	131,290	417,870	2,785,136	1.8	2.2	8.2
New York	49,005	134,191	1,417,511	1.3	1.5	8.4
New Jersey	25,336	89,760	514,875	3.8	3.5	8.5
Pennsylvania	56,949	193,919	852,750	2.0	2.5	7.5
East North Central	63,699	300,836	2,884,969	0.9	1.6	8.0
Ohio	36,673	111,452	786,097	1.6	2.3	8.1
Indiana	11,428	60,320	269,275	0.9	2.2	5.8
Illinois	7,628	109,049	1,037,470	0.5	1.9	10.3
Michigan	6,799	17,115	717,581	0.9	0.6	9.2
Wisconsin	1,171	2,900	74,546	0.2	0.1	1.9
West North Central	120,540	242,662	561,068	5.6	2.1	3.6
Minnesota	259	7,084	22,263	0.2	0.3	0.7
Iowa	1,069	14,973	25,354	0.2	0.7	0.9
Missouri	118,503	157,452	390,853	10.0	4.8	9.0
North Dakota	—[a]	617	777	—[a]	0.1	0.1
South Dakota	—[a]	817	1,114	—[a]	0.1	0.2
Nebraska	82	7,689	29,262	0.3	0.6	2.1
Kansas	627	54,030	91,445	0.6	3.2	4.2
SOUTH	4,097,111	8,749,427	11,311,607	36.8	29.8	20.6
South Atlantic	2,058,198	4,112,488	5,844,565	38.4	33.7	22.5
Delaware	21,627	31,181	60,688	19.3	15.4	13.6
Maryland	171,131	232,250	518,410	24.9	17.9	16.7
District of Columbia	14,316	94,446	411,737	19.1	28.5	53.9
Virginia	548,907	671,096	816,258	34.4	32.6	20.6
West Virginia	—	64,173	89,378	—	5.3	4.8
North Carolina	361,522	697,843	1,116,021	36.4	31.6	24.5
South Carolina	412,320	835,843	829,291	58.6	55.2	34.8
Georgia	465,698	1,176,987	1,122,596	44.1	45.1	28.5
Florida	62,677	308,669	880,186	44.6	41.0	17.8
East South Central	1,394,360	2,652,513	2,698,839	34.7	31.5	22.4
Kentucky	236,167	261,656	215,949	20.4	11.4	7.1
Tennessee	283,019	473,088	586,876	25.5	21.7	16.5
Alabama	437,770	908,282	980,271	45.4	42.5	30.0
Mississippi	437,404	1,009,487	915,743	55.3	56.2	42.0

State	Negro Population			Percent Negro		
	1860	1910	1960	1860	1910	1960
West South Central	644,553	1,984,426	2,768,203	36.9	22.6	16.3
Arkansas	111,259	442,891	388,787	25.6	28.1	21.8
Louisiana	350,373	713,874	1,039,207	49.5	43.1	31.9
Oklahoma	—	137,612	153,084	—	8.3	6.6
Texas	182,921	690,049	1,187,125	30.3	17.7	12.4
WEST	4,479	50,662	1,085,688	0.7	0.7	3.9
Mountain	235	21,467	123,242	0.1	0.8	1.8
Montana	—	1,834	1,467	—	0.5	0.2
Idaho	—	651	1,502	—	0.2	0.2
Wyoming	—	2,235	2,183	—	1.5	0.7
Colorado	46	11,453	39,992	0.1	1.4	2.3
New Mexico	85	1,628	17,063	0.1	0.5	1.8
Arizona	—	2,009	43,403	—	1.0	3.3
Utah	59	1,144	4,148	0.2	0.3	0.5
Nevada	45	513	13,484	0.7	0.6	4.7
Pacific	4,244	29,195	962,446	1.0	0.7	4.5
Washington	30	6,058	48,738	0.3	0.5	1.7
Oregon	128	1,492	18,133	0.2	0.2	1.0
California	4,086	21,645	883,861	1.1	0.9	5.6
Alaska	—	—	6,771	—	—	3.0
Hawaii	—	—	4,943	—	—	0.8
U.S. TOTAL	4,441,830	9,827,763	18,871,831	14.1	10.7	10.5

[a] Dakota Territory.

SOURCE: 1860 and 1910 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–32* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1935), Chapter II, Table 12 and Chapter III, Table 4; 1960 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary,* Final Report PC(1)–1B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 56.

and others where they make up only a small percentage. Similarly, those states with small percentages of Negroes may nonetheless have some counties with large concentrations of Negro population. In 1880, there was a belt of about 300 mainly contiguous counties in the rich argricultural area of the central South in which Negroes constituted more than half of the population. The number of "black belt" counties has been steadily declining, numbering 264 counties in 1910 and 138 in 1960. Several Southern states (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma and West Virginia) have no counties in which Negroes are in the majority. Such counties are still found in the remaining Southern states, particularly Georgia (34), Mississippi (29), Virginia (15), and South Carolina (15). Washington, D.C., is

the only large city in the country in which Negroes outnumber whites; in 1960 Negroes comprised 53.9 percent of the population of the capital city. Space does not permit a full presentation of data for small areas. Readers are urged to consult the census volumes for their states to obtain specific information on such local variations.

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION, 1870–1960

If the early history of Negro population is linked with the development of southern agriculture, its current history is part and parcel of the history of the entire nation. Millions of Negroes have left the South to seek new opportunities in the cities of the North, and to join with whites in the ever-increasing migrations to the West. The volume of these movements during some decades has been nearly unbelievable, especially when it is recognized that the movement often involves radical transformations in the way of life of the Negro migrant.

The Evidence of Migration

A population in a given area can grow through an excess of births over deaths (natural increase) or by an excess of in-migrants over out-migrants (net migration). In the absence of migration, population growth occurs within a fairly narrow set of biological limits. The Negro population of the U.S. has rarely increased by more than 25 percent in a single decade. Thus, the extremely rapid increases in Northern Negro population in the last fifty years are the product of large-scale population movement. Had these migrations not occurred, the Negro population would still be 90 percent Southern.

During the first fifty years after Emancipation, the relative stability in residential distribution was broken only by some movement to new agricultural areas in the western portion of the South. Although the movement of whites to cities in North and South was already gaining momentum, the rural Southern character of the Negro population remained substantially intact. In the decades since 1910, Negro migrations, rural-to-urban and North-to-South, have been proceeding at a rapid pace, at times at an incredible pace, completely altering the patterns of distribution which would have resulted in the absence of migration.

From 1870 to 1910 the Negro rural population of Georgia increased steadily from 500,000 to 952,000, but despite a continuing excess of births over deaths, this population diminished to 478,000 in 1960. The same pattern is true of Negro rural population in many other states. At the same time, the Negro urban population of New York State, which numbered 118,000 in 1910, has multiplied tenfold in the past fifty years, numbering more than one million in 1960. In fact, in 1960 for the first time, a Northern state, New York, had a larger Negro population than any southern state.

That continuing massive migrations of Negroes have been taking place in the past half-century is obvious from these facts of population redistribution. Unfortunately, direct information is lacking on the numbers involved, the characteristics of migrants, the paths they follow and the forces that impel them to leave their homes for new places and opportunities. In the United States, anyone can move from one part of the country to another without notifying the government and without any records being kept. Data on migration come indirectly. The fact of out-migration, for instance, becomes apparent when the census counts fewer Negroes in Mississippi in 1960 than in 1950, and records a doubling of the Negro population of California in the same period.

Immigration from abroad is evident from the decennial census questions on place of birth. Negroes, however, are overwhelmingly a native population. Since the days of the slave trade, there has been only a tiny stream of Negro immigration. At no time during this century have foreign-born Negroes comprised as much as one percent of the total Negro population. In 1900, the census recorded only 20,000 Negroes as born abroad. During the next fifty years, this number increased, primarily as a result of immigration from the West Indies. In 1950, of a total of 114,000 foreign-born Negroes, 67,000 or three-fifths were from the West Indies. Over half of all foreign-born Negroes lived in the New York metropolitan area. Similarly detailed data are not available for 1960, but the total number of foreign-born Negroes was up only slightly, to 125,000.

Migration from South to North, 1910 to 1960

The general patterns of Negro migration during each decade from 1910 to 1960 can be seen from the data in Table 2. This table presents, for geographic divisions and selected states, the estimated net population gain or loss from migration. Northward movement of Negroes was large between 1910 and 1920, and increased to even larger numbers in the next decade. During the depression decade, migration into the North continued at a much diminished pace. The volume of migration picked up during the

war decade of 1940–50, and reached the highest levels ever recorded during 1950–60. The movement of Negroes to the West, which has been gaining momentum since 1940, has been mainly to California.

Negro migration out of the South was greater during 1920–30 than 1910–20, but fell off during the depression decade. During the 1940's and 1950's, net out-migration of Negroes from the South assumed record proportions. Between 1950 and 1960, the South lost nearly 1.5 million Negroes by migration, while the North gained more than one million and the West nearly 400,000.

TABLE II—Estimated Net Intercensal Migration of Negroes, for Geographic Divisions and Selected States, by Decade, 1910–1960

Area	1950–60 [a]	1940–50	1930–40	1920–30	1910–20
Geographic Division					
New England	70,000	24,900	5,200	7,400	12,000
Middle Atlantic	472,000	386,800	165,700	341,500	170,100
East North Central	521,000	493,800	107,700	323,700	200,400
West North Central	37,000	35,000	20,100	40,300	43,700
Mountain and Pacific	385,000	304,300	49,000	36,100	28,400
South Atlantic	—542,000	—424,100	—175,200	—508,700	—161,900
East South Central	—620,000	—484,600	—122,500	—180,100	—246,300
West South Central	—295,000	—336,000	— 49,800	— 60,200	— 46,200
Selected States					
Pennsylvania	77,000	89,600	20,300	101,700	82,500
New York	282,000	243,600	135,900	172,800	63,100
Illinois	189,000	179,800	49,400	119,300	69,800
Michigan	127,000	163,300	28,000	86,100	38,700
Ohio	133,000	106,700	20,700	90,700	69,400
California	354,000	258,900	41,200	36,400	16,100
District of Columbia	54,000	61,200	47,500	16,000	18,300
Florida	101,000	7,200	49,900	54,200	3,200
Virginia	— 70,000	— 30,600	— 36,900	—117,200	— 27,200
North Carolina	—207,000	—127,300	— 60,000	— 15,700	— 28,900
South Carolina	—218,000	—159,000	— 94,400	—204,300	— 74,500
Georgia	—204,000	—191,200	— 90,300	—260,000	— 74,700
Alabama	—224,000	—165,400	— 63,800	— 80,700	— 70,800
Mississippi	—323,000	—258,200	— 58,200	— 68,800	—129,600
Arkansas	—150,000	—116,100	— 33,300	— 46,300	— 1,000
Louisiana	— 92,000	—113,800	— 8,400	— 25,500	— 51,200
Texas	— 27,000	— 67,200	4,900	9,700	5,200

Note: A minus sign indicates net out-migration; no sign indicates net in-migration.

[a] Figures for 1950–60 refer to non-whites and were estimated by a different procedure from that used for the 1910–50 estimates.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Series C 25–73; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 247, Table 4.

Causes of Migration

There is still no scholarly agreement on the precise causes of these massive movements of population. Their timing, however, provides some insight into the factors involved. The major northward migration of Southern Negroes appears to have started about 1915 and to have continued at a high rate during most of the next ten years. In discussing causes of migration, it is helpful to distinguish between those causes of dissatisfaction in the local community which "push" people out, and those attractions at the place of destination which "pull" people in.

Among the push factors it might be thought that discrimination, segregation and injustice would be the most important. However much these factors contributed to a general willingness to move, there is no evidence that they were any worse during 1915–25 than in preceding years. This is not to deny that many of the Negroes leaving the South before 1915 as well as later did so out of a sense of personal mistreatment. But the causes of the change in volume of out-migration must include certain precipitating factors not present in earlier periods, such as the severe devastation of Southern agriculture caused by the combination of the boll weevil and a series of bad crop years. Conditions had often been depressed, but the devastation and depth of the agricultural depression in many counties were greater than ever before. Out-migration increased greatly from many of the hardest hit counties.

A change in pull factors inducing migration is also clearly evident about the time of the rapid increase in Negro northward migration. With the onset of war in Europe, immigration of Europeans to the United States, which had been bringing more than a million persons a year to Northern industrial cities, was cut off. The war, even before direct U.S. involvement, brought new demands upon Northern manufacturing industries. Industry, which had been providing hundreds of thousands of jobs each year for new immigrants, now had this labor supply cut off during a period of great demand for labor. Despite widespread prejudice and concern about the "suitability" of Negroes as industrial laborers, many firms not only found that Negroes were suitable, but sent out labor recruiters to the South to encourage Negroes to come North. Many Negroes who made the move encouraged friends and relatives to join them, and the move became easier for those with someone at the other end to help them find a place to live and a job. After the First World War, immigration from Europe resumed, only to be cut back permanently by restrictive legislation in the early 1920's. The Negro then retained a position in the Northern industrial scheme.

Migration Rates and Their Social Impact

The impact of migration on both the community where the migrants originate and the community which is their destination can be better appreciated if the number of migrants is related to the number of people left behind or the number already at the destination. When expressed in this way, the Negro migrations imply tremendous upheavals in both Northern and Southern communities. For instance, between 1910 and 1920, the state of Alabama lost one-tenth of its Negro population by out-migration. Between 1940 and 1950, Mississippi lost over one-fourth of its Negroes by out-migration. Without the continual replenishment of population by natural increase, these states would by now have few Negroes left.

Migration is a highly selective process. Young adults are usually much more eager to give up the old for the new than are those with families, homes, and secure attachments to customary ways of earning a living. The Negro migrations are no exception to this rule, for they have always drawn most heavily from those in the young adult ages. Some of the migration rates shown in Table III for young Negro males are almost beyond belief. Consider Negro males in Georgia who were between the ages of fifteen and thirty-four in 1920. Out-migrants among this group during the 1920–30 decade numbered forty-five out of every one hundred average population in Georgia. Similarly, between 1940 and 1950, Mississippi lost nearly one-half of its young Negro adults by out-migration, principally to Northern states. The impact of migration on the Negro population in some Northern states was also large. In 1920, 1930 and 1950, from one-third to one-half or more of the young adult Negroes in such states as Michigan, Illinois and New York were persons who moved there within the preceding ten years.

Dramatic as some of these figures are, they are understatements. They refer to net migration, the balance of in- over out-migration or out- over in-migration. Not all Negroes who move from one state to another go from South to North. Many who have been in the North move back to the South. Many others move from one Southern state to another or from one Northern state to another. Thus, in-migration and out-migration are both heavy, and the figures shown in the tables indicate the extent to which one movement predominates over the other. But gross movement is always higher, usually much higher, than net movement.

The impact of migration is also understated by using states as units. During the First World War, there are stories of special trains taking away virtually the entire young adult population of a small Southern community at one time, and many entire families. Similarly, the dramatic impact of

TABLE III—Net Intercensal Migration for Negro Males Age 15–34 at Beginning of Decade, by Decades for Selected States, 1870–1950

Intercensal Period	Southern States			Northern States		
	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	Illinois	Michigan	New York
1870–80	—20.9	—4.6	4.0	37.1	12.5	23.9
1880–90	—8.8	2.9	—4.1	28.7	—	32.1
1890–00	—12.5	—7.6	—2.6	53.9	10.5	55.2
1900–10	—10.1	—5.0	—5.5	33.3	25.0	44.4
1910–20	—22.1	—16.7	—23.3	67.4	138.4	53.6
1920–30	—21.3	—44.7	—14.2	65.5	88.4	79.3
1930–40	—11.7	—13.5	—9.8	14.5	19.0	29.8
1940–50	—32.3	—30.9	—47.0	59.0	81.5	54.3

Note: A minus sign indicates net out-migration; no sign indicates net in-migration.

SOURCE: Everett S. Lee, Ann Ratner Miller, Carol P. Brainerd, and Richard A. Easterlin, *Population Redistribution and Economic Growth, United States, 1870–1950, I. Methodological Considerations and Reference Tables* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1957), Table P–1.

Negro migration on New York City's Harlem or Chicago's South Side is somewhat obscured when data are presented for entire states.

The social costs of these migrations are extraordinarily difficult to calculate. High rates of natural increase among rural Southern Negroes have not led to a piling up of Negro population in depressed agricultural areas. Rather, the continuing migrations sketched above have transferred much of the increase in Negro population from the South to the North. To an extent, this out-migration helps alleviate economic problems, for in its absence the South would have been confronted with the need to provide jobs and housing for a great many additional Negroes. Out-migration, however, is not an unmitigated blessing. The South's investment in food, clothing, housing and schooling required to raise children from birth to an age when they are ready to begin productive employment is lost when these youths migrate. Hundreds of thousands go North to add to the productive labor force there rather than in the region which raised and educated them. The remaining Southern rural Negroes are a population with many dependent children and old folks, but with depleted numbers of young and middle-aged adults to support them. The effects of these migrations on Northern cities are similarly complex. A rapid rate of in-migration not only permits a rapid expansion in the productive labor force, but also augments housing shortages, accelerates overcrowding, complicates the task of providing suitable jobs for all those seeking work, and adds to the need for city social and welfare services.

As economic opportunities outside of agriculture increase in the South, and as the number of rural and village Negroes decreases, it seems unlikely that the volume of net out-migration from the South will continue at the same high levels as in the recent past. Whether it does or not, the impact of Negro in-migration on Northern cities cannot again attain its former dimensions. As the Negro population increases in the North, a given number of new in-migrants forms a smaller percentage of the population already there. In the past, migration has accounted for a high proportion of Negro population increase in most Northern and Western cities. The share of population growth attributable to natural increase, however, has been moving rapidly upward and is already the major source of growth in many cities.

Despite the high rates of Negro migration from South to North during the past half-century, just under one-half of the nonwhite residents of the North and West were born in the South. There were even 146,000 Northern-born nonwhites living in the South in 1960. Many Northern Negroes have never been in the South. Currently a high proportion of these Northern-born Negroes are children, but there are already many in the adult ages, and this number is increasing rapidly. If these children are inadequately trained and educated, the North and not the South must bear the responsibility.

Residential Mobility and Short-Distance Moving

Mobility is a prominent feature of an urban industrial society. People in the United States are frequent movers, and Negroes are no exception. They move from one community to another or from one house or apartment to another with high frequency. In March, 1961, the Bureau of the Census asked a large sample of the population where they were living one year earlier. Of nonwhites, 23 percent were in a different house, compared to 20 percent for whites. Every year, about one of every five families, white and Negro, shifts residence. No wonder that the 1960 census reported that only 11 percent of nonwhites and 14 percent of whites had lived in their present housing unit since 1940.

Sociologists sometimes split residential mobility into "migration," referring to moves involving a change of community, and "local movement," referring to moves within a single community. The Bureau of the Census makes a similar distinction by referring to persons moving from one county to another as "migrants," and to persons whose move is entirely within a county as "local movers." Most of the one-fifth of people who move each year are "local movers" rather than "migrants." In 1960–61, for nonwhites, 18.4 percent of the mobile population were local movers and 4.3 percent were intercounty migrants. Of the migrants, roughly one-half moved to a

different county within the same state, and one-half moved to a different state. The Bureau of the Census has been collecting similar data each year since 1948, and although the specific percentages vary from year to year, the general pattern has been remarkably constant for both whites and nonwhites. Each year about one in five persons moves, with about two-thirds of movers shifting residence within a county and the remaining one-third migrating to a different county.

It is misleading to view "local moving" as being without social consequences. A move from one neighborhood to another can entail as many changes in the lives of a family as a move from one city to another. The consequences for urban planning are likewise just as important for the short move as for the long. When one-fourth, one-third, or even more (as is true of many apartment areas) of the population has lived for less than a year in a neighborhood, how much sense of community identification can there be? Under such circumstances, can there be effective local participation in planning, as envisioned by many planners and written into Federal urban renewal law? An urban industrial society, however, is a changing one, and it could not function in the absence of residential mobility. Not only is the freedom to move necessary for the adjustment of people to changing situations and changing opportunities, but it is a basic liberty of Negroes and whites alike.

URBANIZATION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION, 1910–1960

One simple piece of information from the 1960 census summarizes the profound change in the status of the Negro population that has been taking place during the past half-century. In 1960, Negroes were more urbanized than whites. Of the nonwhite population, 73 percent lived in cities, as compared to 70 percent of the white population. Not only has the movement of Negroes from South to North been a movement to cities, but within the South itself Negroes have been moving from rural areas to cities. Civil rights struggles in Birmingham and Little Rock, Atlanta and Norfolk share headlines with those in Chicago, Detroit and New York. Although there are still hundreds of thousands of Negroes living in poverty in the rural South, the picture of the typical American Negro as a Southern sharecropper is a long outdated stereotype.

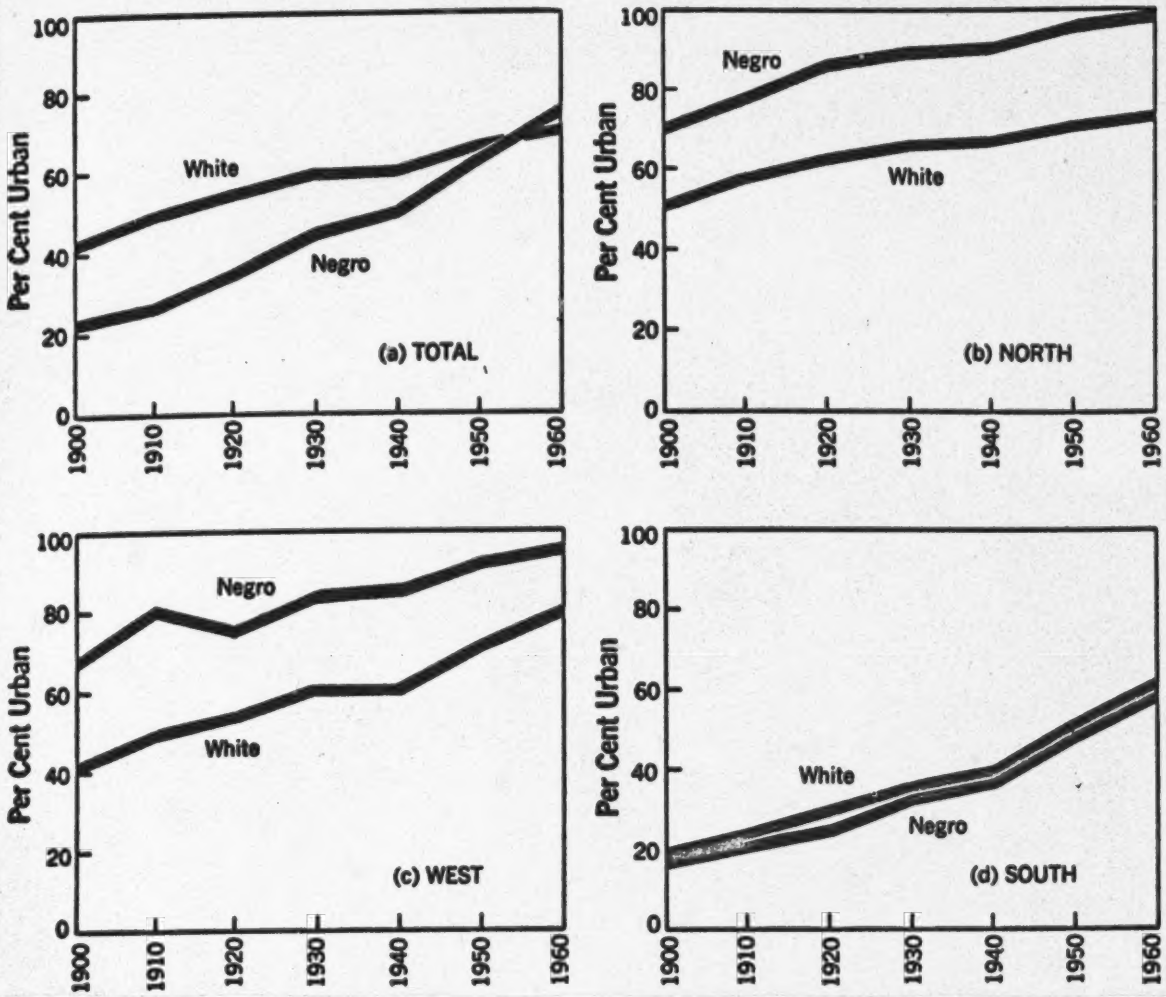
Urbanization before 1910

The United States began as a rural nation, with most of its people dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. Her rise to world power, however, depended not only on her bountiful agriculture, but also on her becoming an urbanized industrialized nation. Cities have always played an important part in national life. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston and other cities were already centers of commerce, trade, politics and culture in the eighteenth century. Even the largest cities of those days, however, would be considered small by today's standards. It was not until the nineteenth century that American cities, paced by New York, increased by leaps and bounds to truly large size. The urbanization of America was accelerated after the Civil War by rapid industrial growth and the laying out of the nationwide rail transportation network. Already by 1910 most of the large cities of today had reached large size. Yet in 1910 fewer than 50 percent of Americans lived in cities. The movement of people to cities has continued at a rapid pace ever since.

Negro participation in the urbanization of America was slight during the early stages. The concentration of free Negroes in cities has been discussed above, but their numbers were never large relative to the total population of the cities in which they lived. Within the South, Negro slaves were utilized in greatest numbers in agriculture, and they lived in rural areas and villages. Rural settlement, however, was also characteristic of the white population. The small Southern urban population included its proportionate share of Negro population.

From 1860 to 1910 the movement of Negroes from the South to Northern cities was very slight. Within the South, what Negro migration occurred was primarily in response to changing opportunities in agriculture, particularly the westward movement of cotton. As of 1910, just over one-fourth of Negroes and just under one-half of whites in the United States lived in cities. These national figures mask considerable regional variation. Within the South, Negroes and whites were equally urbanized, with about one-fifth living in cities. Within the North and West, Negroes, with 77 percent in cities, were much more urbanized than whites. These patterns are portrayed in Figure 6. In 1910, nearly all Negroes lived in the South. Despite the high percentages shown as "urban" among Northern Negroes, the numbers involved were small and the national average reflected primarily the pattern in the South. For whites, however, the national percentage urban was an average of the high figure in the North and West, and the low figure in the South.

FIGURE 6–Percent Urban by Race and Region, 1900–1960



Note: Definition of "urban" not fully comparable throughout this period.

SOURCE: 1960 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary,* Final Report PC(1)–1B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 51; 1950 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1950,* Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part 1, U.S. Summary (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953) Table 145; 1940 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the U.S.: 1940, Population,* Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population,* Part 1, Table 21 and *Characteristics of the Nonwhite Population by Race,* Table 3 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943); 1930 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the U.S.: 1940, Population,* Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population,* Parts 1-7 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), Table 5 for each state; and 1900–1920 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the U.S. Taken in the Year 1920,* Vol. II, *Population* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), Table 20, p. 79.

Urbanization since 1910

During the fifty years from 1910 to 1960, urbanization has proceeded rapidly among both whites and Negroes in every region. Within regions, however, the differences between whites and Negroes have remained much as they were fifty years ago. In the South, despite a period of particularly rapid urbanization since 1940, Negroes and whites have maintained nearly identical proportions in cities. In 1960, 58 percent of Southern Negroes and 59 percent of Southern whites lived in cities. In the North and West, Negroes continue to be more highly urbanized than whites. In 1960, the percentages living in cities were, in the North, 96 for Negroes and 73 for whites, and in the West, 93 for Negroes and 78 for whites.

On a national basis, there has been a convergence between whites and Negroes in percentage urban. This is portrayed in the graph for "Total" in Figure 6. Note that this graph differs from each of the regional graphs. Within each region, the differences between Negroes and whites in urbanization (or lack of differences in the South) have remained about the same for the last fifty years. Yet when all regions are grouped together into the total United States, the picture is one of the percentage urban among Negroes catching up to and surpassing the figure for whites. This peculiar difference between urbanization when viewed within regions and urbanization when viewed for the total United States results from the massive shift of Negro population from South to North during this half-century. Negroes in the South have always been as urbanized as whites in the South, but they have been much less urbanized than Negroes in the North and West. As hundreds of thousands of Negroes have moved from the South to the North and West, they have taken on the urban residential distribution of Negroes in the North and West. In 1910, the percentage urban for Negroes for the total United States was very close to the percentage for the South alone, since 89 percent of Negroes in the United States lived in the South. In 1960, 60 percent of Negroes lived in the South and the percentage urban for the total United States is in between the figure for the South and the figure for the North and West.

Cities with Large Numbers of Negroes

In 1910, there were fewer than one million Negroes living in cities in the North and West. In 1960, there were more than one million Negroes in New York City alone, and more than seven million in cities throughout the North and West. Fifty years ago, there were a few Northern cities with large Negro populations, but most urban Negroes lived in Southern cities. The

TABLE IV—The Twenty-Five Leading Cities in Negro Population, 1910 and 1960

1910			1960		
City	Negro Population (000)	Percent Negro	City	Negro Population (000)	Percent Negro
Washington	94	28.5	New York	1,088	14.0
New York	92	1.9	Chicago	813	22.9
New Orleans	89	26.3	Philadelphia	529	26.4
Baltimore	85	15.2	Detroit	482	28.9
Philadelphia	84	5.5	Washington	412	53.9
Memphis	52	40.0	Los Angeles	335	13.5
Birmingham	52	39.4	Baltimore	326	34.7
Atlanta	52	33.5	Cleveland	251	28.6
Richmond	47	36.6	New Orleans	236	37.2
Chicago	44	2.0	Houston	215	22.9
St. Louis	44	6.4	St. Louis	214	28.6
Louisville	41	18.1	Atlanta	186	38.3
Nashville	37	33.1	Memphis	184	37.0
Savannah	33	51.1	Newark	138	34.1
Charleston	31	52.8	Birmingham	135	39.6
Jacksonville	29	50.8	Dallas	129	19.0
Pittsburgh	26	4.8	Cincinnati	109	21.6
Norfolk	25	37.1	Pittsburgh	101	16.7
Houston	24	30.4	Indianapolis	94	20.6
Kansas City	24	9.5	Richmond	92	41.8
Mobile	23	44.2	Oakland	84	22.8
Indianapolis	22	9.3	Kansas City	83	17.5
Cincinnati	20	5.4	Jacksonville	83	41.1
Montgomery	19	50.7	Norfolk	79	25.8
Augusta	18	44.7	Columbus	77	16.4

SOURCE: 1910 data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population 1790–1915* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 93; 1960 data: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 21 for states.

twenty-five cities with the largest Negro populations in 1910 and 1960 are listed in Table IV.

In 1910, no single city had as many as 100,000 Negro residents, as compared with a 1960 total of eighteen cities with more than 100,000 Negro residents. In 1910, there were eight Northern and no Western cities on the list. In none of these Northern cities did Negroes comprise as much as 10 percent of the population because the cities were so large. There were few large cities in the South, and even though Negroes often comprised 30,

40 or 50 percent of the population, few southern cities had as many as 20,000 Negro residents.

The rapid urbanization of the Negro population since 1910, and particularly the pronounced movement to Northern and Western cities, is evident in the changes in the list of the twenty-five leading cities in Negro population between 1910 and 1960. New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit lead the 1960 list, and Los Angeles and Cleveland also appear in the top ten. Fourteen of the twenty-five cities are in the North or West. In all of these cities, Negroes comprised more than 10 percent of the population. In contrast to fifty years earlier when Negroes were but a very small segment of most Northern and Western cities, in several cities Negroes now comprise one-fourth to one-third of the population.

Sources of Urban Population Growth

Migration from the South to Northern cities and within the South from rural areas to cities has been taking place at a rapid rate during much of the last fifty years. Migration, however, is not the only source of growth of urban Negro population. The excess of births over deaths contributes to population growth even in the absence of migration. In the previous section it was demonstrated that migrants tend to be young adults of both sexes. Migration thus brings to cities large numbers of young couples and young persons about to form families. As compared to a population with a larger share of older persons, a city population heavily augmented by migration contains many couples in the childbearing ages. Birth rates are therefore high, and in the absence of a large older population, death rates are low. The difference between high birth rates and low death rates is a high rate of natural increase. Urban Negro populations, therefore, are increasing rapidly not only because of in-migration, but also because of natural increase.

The large volume of natural increase augmenting the growth of urban Negro populations is undercutting still another aspect of the old stereotypical picture of Negroes as Southern sharecroppers. In a more up-to-date version of this stereotype, Northern urban Negroes are pictured as recent migrants from the rural South, lacking in knowledge of the manners and niceties of city living. However, more than half of Northern Negroes are Northern-born. Of the migrants from the South, many come from Southern cities rather than rural areas. For instance, of nonwhite males aged 45–64 living in large metropolitan areas, nearly two-thirds have lived in the same city for at least twenty years. While there undoubtedly are

some Negro migrants to Northern cities who have difficulties adjusting to urban living, their share in the total northern Negro population must be small.

NEGROES IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

As the urbanization of the United States has progressed, the society has increasingly come to be organized around the large cities. The sphere of influence of a large city extends far beyond its boundaries. A very large city such as New York has economic and cultural ties with every part of the country and with much of the world. Other cities do not have such an extensive range of influence, but there is at least a high degree of interdependence between each large city and its surrounding area. The political boundaries of large cities have not expanded to encompass the entire population that is socially and economically integrated with the city. The entire suburban area of a large city, together with much of the close-in rural area, can be considered together with the central city as comprising a single metropolitan area.

Consideration of the changing distribution of Negro population, thus, is incomplete without an indication of the position of Negroes in the metropolitan system of the country. To permit analysis of metropolitanization, the Federal Government has recognized, for statistical purposes, a number of "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas" (SMSA's). Each SMSA consists of at least one city of fifty thousand inhabitants or more, together with the county (or counties) in which the city is located, and as many contiguous counties as are essentially metropolitan in character and socially and economically integrated with the central city. The metropolitan area concept is quite distinct from the concept of urban population. Cities are politically incorporated units. A metropolitan area includes at least one large city, a number of nearby large and small cities, and considerable rural population, both farm and nonfarm.

Both Negro and white population movement has been largely to the cities and suburbs of metropolitan areas. Cities outside of metropolitan areas have not participated to the same degree in the urbanization of the population. The increasing concentration of Negroes and whites in metropolitan areas over the period 1900 to 1960 is shown in Table V. In

1900, 44 percent of whites and 27 percent of Negroes lived in metropolitan areas, whereas by 1960 the figure was 63 percent for whites and 65 percent for Negroes. (In this section, all data for metropolitan areas refer to the 212 SMSA's as delineated for the 1960 census.)

TABLE V—Percent Residing in SMSA's by Race and Region, 1900–1960*

Race and Year	Conterminous United States	Region		
		North	West	South
NEGRO				
1960	64.7	92.8	92.8	45.9
1950	55.6	91.5	91.1	38.7
1940	45.4	88.7	86.0	32.5
1930	42.0	87.1	83.3	29.8
1920	33.9	81.7	68.4	25.7
1910	28.7	72.5	72.5	23.3
1900	26.6	66.1	66.7	22.1
WHITE				
1960	62.8	67.1	71.6	48.7
1950	59.5	65.8	67.1	41.9
1940	56.2	64.2	62.4	35.2
1930	55.7	63.9	61.4	33.2
1920	51.4	60.0	52.2	29.1
1910	47.7	55.5	50.6	26.0
1900	44.0	50.9	47.0	23.9

* SMSA's as defined in 1960.

SOURCE: Compiled from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), Table A 95–122; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, United States Summary,* Final Report PC(1)–1B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 56; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Selected Area Reports, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas,* Final Report PC(3)–1D (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 1.

Regional Trends in Metropolitanization

Because the population movements to urban areas have been principally to urban places within metropolitan areas, regional differences in the patterns for Negroes and whites resemble those already noted for urbanization. In the South, both Negroes and whites have participated about equally in metropolitan concentration, with just under one-fourth of each group in metropolitan areas in 1900 and just under one-half in 1960. In the North

and West, Negroes have always been more concentrated than whites in metropolitan areas. In 1960, over 90 percent of Negroes in these regions were metropolitan, as compared to about 70 percent of whites.

A large proportion of metropolitan population lives in the very large metropolitan areas—in 1960, 54 percent of metropolitan whites and 58 percent of metropolitan Negroes were in areas of over 1,000,000 total population (Table VI). Regional differences are again evident. Large metropolitan areas are principally located in the North and West, and Negroes moving North have been particularly attracted to these centers. In 1960, 80 percent of metropolitan Negroes in the North lived in areas of this size. In the South, however, metropolitan Negroes and whites are similarly distributed among areas of each size.

The concentration of Negro population in a few locations, particularly in the North and West, is even greater than indicated by the figures for all metropolitan areas combined. One of every fifteen Negroes in the coun-

TABLE VI—Percent Distribution of Population by Size of SMSA, Race, and Region, 1960

	Region and Race							
	Conterminous United States		North		West		South	
Size of SMSA	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
3,000,000 or more	27.8	31.3	35.9	24.5	24.5	46.7	—	—
1,000,000–3,000,000	26.5	26.8	27.1	55.6	33.7	30.7	26.2	28.9
500,000–1,000,000	16.7	16.5	11.4	9.4	22.9	12.7	26.3	25.4
250,000–500,000	14.5	11.3	12.8	5.6	11.4	6.2	21.8	18.9
100,000–250,000	12.9	13.1	11.6	4.7	6.2	3.5	22.5	24.6
Less than 100,000	1.6	1.0	1.2	0.2	1.3	0.2	3.2	2.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. I, *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 21 for each state.

try lives in the New York metropolitan area. Ten metropolitan areas in the North, each with more than 100,000 Negro residents, together contain 70 percent of all Northern Negroes (Table VII). Two metropolitan areas in the West contain 65 percent of that region's Negro population. There are thirteen metropolitan areas in the South with more than 100,000 Negro residents, and together they contain one-fourth of the region's Negro population.

Regional differences in the course of metropolitanization of Negroes have many causes. In the South, Negroes were an integral part of the initial

TABLE VII—List of SMSA's with 100,000 or More Negroes in 1960, by Region

Region and SMSA	Negro Population	Region and SMSA	Negro Population
NORTH	**4,525,234**	**SOUTH**	**2,811,082**
Chicago	889,961	Atlanta	230,737
Cincinnati	127,713	Baltimore	378,333
Cleveland	257,258	Birmingham	219,482
Detroit	558,792	Dallas	155,081
Kansas City	117,210	Houston	246,118
Newark	223,210	Jacksonville	105,624
New York	1,224,590	Memphis	227,180
Philadelphia	670,939	Miami	137,492
Pittsburgh	160,845	Mobile	100,933
St. Louis	294,716	New Orleans	267,303
WEST	**701,540**	Norfolk-Portsmouth	150,442
Los Angeles-Long Beach	464,112	Richmond	107,240
San Francisco-Oakland	237,428	Washington	485,117

settlement of the region and have always been distributed similarly to the white population. Both races are now responding in similar fashion to the social and economic forces which are producing a metropolitan society. In the South, both races started as predominantly rural and the process of urbanization since 1900 has been gradually erasing their common rural heritage. In the North and West, on the other hand, Negroes represent a new group, similar in this respect to the immigrants of the past, being superimposed upon established settlement patterns.

Negro Migration to Metropolitan Areas, 1955–60

The large Negro population in metropolitan areas has been achieved by the migration of thousands of Negroes in search of a share in the economic benefits accruing from industrialization. Lack of data, however, has prohibited careful documentation of the character of these migrations. The best detailed migration data for the United States refer to the two periods 1935–40 and 1955–60, and are based upon responses to a census question on place of residence five years earlier.

Much of what we know about the early movement is based upon fragmentary sources and the reports of observers. Most of this literature is in agreement that Negro in-migrants to cities were of lower social and economic status than the resident Negro population and, as a result, consider-

able friction was generated between the two groups and between them and whites. Increased racial tensions were blamed upon the heavy influx of Negroes of low socio-economic status. Considerable evidence also exists that the newcomers were a higher status segment of the Southern Negro population from which they were drawn. Several studies have shown with regard to educational levels that the better-educated Negroes in the South were the ones who tended to migrate, but because their educational level was below that of Negroes already residing in cities, the net effect of the movement was to dampen the educational level of the Negro population both at place of origin and place of destination.

As the Negro population in metropolitan areas has grown, movement of Negroes between metropolitan areas has been added to the earlier rural-to-urban movement. This intermetropolitan movement is an increasingly important component of total Negro migration. Among nonwhite in-migrants to Northern metropolitan areas between 1955 and 1960, about one-half, on the average, came from other metropolitan areas (Table VIII). The figure is about one-third among nonwhite migrants to Southern metropolitan areas. Once resident in a metropolitan area, Negroes are much more likely to move to other metropolitan areas than back to the rural areas and small towns of the South. Clearly, in a society which is overwhelmingly metropolitan, the predominant movement is intermetropolitan rather than rural-to-urban. Most Negro newcomers, particularly to Northern metropolitan areas, have had considerable experience with metropolitan living.

It is possible to trace the origins of in-migrants and the destinations of out-migrants in somewhat more detail. Table IX presents the distribution by region of origin of nonwhite in-migrants to twenty-five metropolitan areas with large Negro populations. Nonwhite migrants to metropolitan areas in the Northeast (Newark, New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh) are drawn primarily from the Atlantic Seaboard states. Metropolitan areas in the North Central region (St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Chicago) receive substantial shares of their nonwhite in-migrants from the states of the middle South (the East South Central division). Los Angeles-Long Beach and San Francisco-Oakland draw from the states along the western edge of the South (the West South Central division) and the North Central region. For metropolitan areas of the South, the major source of in-migration is the nonmetropolitan areas of their own or neighboring states.

Corresponding information on the destinations of out-migrants is presented in Table X. Less than one-third of the nonwhites leaving Northern metropolitan areas moved to the South, while one-third to one-half of those leaving most Southern areas moved to the North or West. Most of the non-

whites leaving Southern SMSA's stayed within the South, the overwhelming majority of them going to nonmetropolitan areas of the same or nearby states.

TABLE VIII—Metropolitan Origin of Nonwhite In-Migrants and Metropolitan Destination of Nonwhite Out-Migrants for Selected SMSA's, 1955–60

SMSA	Percent of In-Migrants from Other SMSA's	Percent of Out-Migrants Going to Other SMSA's
NORTH		
Chicago	44.0	66.3
Cincinnati	58.9	71.1
Cleveland	56.2	70.5
Detroit	56.6	73.7
Kansas City	45.2	72.6
Newark	48.0	61.5
New York	48.8	65.6
Philadelphia	53.7	69.8
Pittsburgh	57.9	72.7
St. Louis	41.1	71.6
WEST		
Los Angeles-Long Beach	71.6	77.7
San Francisco-Oakland	68.3	75.4
SOUTH		
Atlanta	29.4	57.7
Baltimore	43.7	64.0
Birmingham	34.4	75.4
Dallas	34.1	67.8
Houston	34.2	61.9
Jacksonville	37.8	56.5
Memphis	19.5	71.9
Miami	32.4	57.1
Mobile	30.4	59.7
New Orleans	28.5	65.4
Norfolk-Portsmouth	45.4	64.1
Richmond	33.2	58.2
Washington	47.2	67.2

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Mobility for Metropolitan Areas,* Final Report PC(2)–2C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 1 and 5.

TABLE IX–Percent Distribution of Nonwhite In-Migrants to Selected SMSA's by Region of Origin, 1955–60

SMSA	Total	Region or Division of Origin						
		Same State	North-east	North Central	West	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central
NORTH								
Chicago	100.0	5.3	3.5	18.1	4.4	8.2	46.2	14.3
Cincinnati	100.0	17.2*	7.0	17.9	3.5	20.4	32.4	1.6
Cleveland	100.0	11.1	10.8	14.6	2.6	22.6	34.2	4.1
Detroit	100.0	8.3	6.5	16.9	3.9	21.0	33.8	9.6
Kansas City	100.0	13.3*	4.5	18.9	8.3	3.3	15.4	36.3
Newark	100.0	17.0	16.7	3.8	1.4	55.9	4.3	0.9
New York	100.0	2.5	11.4	6.6	2.9	67.0	7.3	2.3
Philadelphia	100.0	7.8*	17.2	6.0	2.7	59.9	4.0	2.4
Pittsburgh	100.0	17.0	10.1	20.4	3.4	34.3	11.1	2.7
St. Louis	100.0	10.2*	3.1	21.4	5.0	4.3	36.5	19.5
WEST								
Los Angeles-Long Beach	100.0	13.9	6.5	19.7	15.5	5.3	11.5	27.6
San Francisco-Oakland	100.0	23.4	5.1	14.0	16.2	7.1	7.6	26.6
SOUTH								
Atlanta	100.0	62.2	5.4	6.9	1.8	9.1	12.4	2.2
Baltimore	100.0	8.8	13.1	4.2	2.6	66.5	3.1	1.7
Birmingham	100.0	65.7	4.7	13.9	1.8	7.5	5.5	0.9
Dallas	100.0	68.1	0.6	4.2	6.4	1.3	2.5	16.9
Houston	100.0	58.7	1.5	2.8	5.8	2.2	3.3	25.7
Jacksonville	100.0	27.3	8.5	4.1	2.8	49.7	5.1	2.5
Memphis	100.0	18.4	1.7	11.8	1.7	2.6	51.6	12.2
Miami	100.0	21.5	7.5	4.2	0.9	50.8	13.5	1.6
Mobile	100.0	64.0	4.7	6.5	3.2	4.5	14.2	2.9
New Orleans	100.0	39.7	2.8	4.6	4.5	4.8	37.4	6.2
Norfolk-Portsmouth	100.0	20.5	15.1	7.1	2.7	47.3	3.9	3.4
Richmond	100.0	58.6	8.6	0.9	0.7	29.2	1.7	0.3
Washington	100.0	6.8*	13.6	7.6	3.5	60.8	4.6	3.1

* Since SMSA crosses state boundaries, "same state" refers to in-migrants to that portion of the SMSA lying in a given state from the remainder of that state.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Mobility for Metropolitan Areas, op. cit.*, and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Mobility for States and State Economic Areas,* Final Report PC(2)–2B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 34.

TABLE X—Percent Distribution of Nonwhite Out-Migrants from Selected SMSA's by Region of Destination, 1955–60

SMSA	Total	Region or Division of Destination: Same State	North-east	North Central	West	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central
NORTH								
Chicago	100.0	10.4	7.0	29.7	24.0	8.1	12.2	8.6
Cincinnati	100.0	30.3*	11.5	15.5	14.9	11.7	12.6	3.5
Cleveland	100.0	26.2	13.7	15.2	16.2	12.8	11.9	4.0
Detroit	100.0	16.5	10.0	25.8	17.6	13.9	10.0	6.2
Kansas City	100.0	12.1*	3.4	23.8	39.0	5.1	2.8	13.8
Newark	100.0	33.9	22.6	5.1	7.5	26.8	1.7	2.4
New York	100.0	13.2	29.0	8.1	12.0	30.9	3.2	3.6
Philadelphia	100.0	14.3*	27.0	7.2	10.0	34.3	3.4	3.8
Pittsburgh	100.0	18.4	18.1	25.6	10.4	19.8	4.4	3.3
St. Louis	100.0	16.9*	6.6	30.2	25.2	5.0	8.9	7.2
WEST								
Los Angeles-Long Beach	100.0	45.3	5.0	11.2	16.4	5.1	2.3	14.7
San Francisco-Oakland	100.0	56.0	5.6	6.9	14.9	4.2	1.4	11.0
SOUTH								
Atlanta	100.0	34.2	14.7	16.9	7.3	16.1	8.1	2.7
Baltimore	100.0	18.6	28.8	5.8	7.1	34.3	2.7	2.7
Birmingham	100.0	24.7	13.3	30.9	12.5	11.6	4.6	2.4
Dallas	100.0	47.7	2.5	7.2	33.6	2.5	1.1	5.4
Houston	100.0	45.1	2.3	5.1	30.3	3.5	2.2	11.5
Jacksonville	100.0	38.4	22.3	4.2	7.3	22.0	3.7	2.1
Memphis	100.0	9.5	6.7	41.7	17.5	4.9	11.2	8.5
Miami	100.0	40.9	19.3	6.3	4.4	21.1	5.5	2.5
Mobile	100.0	32.6	9.9	14.5	16.1	12.7	8.4	5.8
New Orleans	100.0	29.9	5.5	12.8	31.2	5.4	9.1	6.1
Norfolk-Portsmouth	100.0	22.4	30.3	4.7	8.0	30.8	2.1	1.7
Richmond	100.0	36.8	27.8	3.3	4.6	23.8	2.2	1.5
Washington	100.0	5.9*	25.3	10.1	12.2	39.0	3.4	4.1

* Since SMSA crosses state boundaries, "same state" refers to out-migrants from that portion of the SMSA lying in a given state to remainder of that state.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Mobility for States and State Economic Areas,* Final Report PC(2)–2B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 36.

These data reveal the existence of a large circulation of nonwhite population between metropolitan areas within each region, from Southern to

Northern and Western areas, and a smaller movement in the reverse direction. The movement from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan areas occurs principally in the South, and is accompanied by a sizable reverse movement. Each of these "streams" of nonwhite migrants tends to consist of persons with different socio-economic characteristics.

Data on the relative frequency of high school graduates and white collar workers in the several migrant groups are presented in Tables XI and XII for a few of the largest metropolitan areas. The intermetropolitan migrants, those moving from one metropolitan area to another, are of unusually high educational and occupational status. By contrast, in-migrants from nonmetropolitan areas as well as out-migrants to nonmetropolitan areas are of much lower socio-economic status.

The net effect of migration on the educational and occupational status of the resident nonwhite population during 1955 to 1960 was, in most areas, to retard improvement slightly. This effect is the product of both the number and characteristics of the movers during the 1955–60 period. Very likely a high status intermetropolitan stream of migration always existed, but its relative importance has increased substantially in recent years owing to the rapid urbanization of the Negro population. It is only the in-migrants of nonmetropolitan origin who even partially resemble the stereotype of the poorly educated and economically depressed migrant. With continuing metropolitanization, it seems reasonable that this component will decline and the intermetropolitan component increase in relative importance. The general educational and occupational levels of migrants should continue to improve.

As the character of the Negro population has changed from a disadvantaged rural population to a largely metropolitan population of rising socioeconomic position, its patterns of migration have begun to manifest the same responses to economic pushes and pulls as are found in the white population. Although Negro in-migrants in the past generally were of somewhat lower socioeconomic status than the resident Negro population, this is no longer an adequate description of current patterns of Negro migration. There is a large and increasingly important high status intermetropolitan movement in the over-all migration of the Negro population.

The redistribution of Negro population from the rural South to northern cities appears to be an indirect process. Few Negroes move directly from southern farms to Chicago or New York. Negro farmers, croppers, or farm laborers are more likely to move to a nearby southern city. Later they or their children may move to one of the northern cities. Such "stage migration" may encompass a number of moves, from farm to village to town to city to metropolis. Some migrants, indeed, do skip all or most of the inter-

vening stages. Others move only one or two stages, and still others, few in number, move in the reverse direction, from North back to South, or from large place to small. The exchange of migrants between regions and types of place is an incredibly complex process. If the data presented here help demolish old stereotypes of migrants, they should show also that there is no such thing as the "typical" migrant.

TABLE XI—Percent of Nonwhites Over 25 Completing Four or More Years of High School, by Migration Status 1955–1960, for Selected SMSA's

SMSA	Total Population	In-Migrants			Out-Migrants		
		Total	From Other SMSA	From Non-met Area	Total	To Other SMSA	To Non-met Area
NORTH							
Chicago	29.0	32.2	39.5	24.5	41.3	47.8	27.5
Cleveland	28.1	37.5	40.1	33.0	34.4	38.2	23.3
Detroit	26.5	37.3	41.4	30.3	31.8	33.3	26.6
New York	31.2	37.4	42.0	31.2	40.6	45.7	28.5
Philadelphia	23.6	36.1	41.0	29.0	39.4	43.0	29.9
St. Louis	23.7	31.2	42.0	21.3	36.2	40.7	24.3
SOUTH							
Atlanta	21.0	25.4	33.5	20.7	31.4	37.6	23.3
Baltimore	19.7	32.2	39.7	25.7	35.8	39.2	28.7
Birmingham	19.1	20.4	29.4	14.4	30.4	33.6	21.4
Memphis	14.6	16.0	32.9	10.9	23.3	27.6	13.6
New Orleans	15.0	22.0	35.0	14.9	30.6	35.7	21.3
Washington	33.5	45.7	54.3	36.6	45.5	50.0	34.8

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Mobility for Metropolitan Areas,* Final Report PC(2)–2C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 4 and 5.

Negroes in Suburbs

A metropolitan area can conveniently be divided into two parts—the central city (or cities) which gives it its name, and the surrounding suburban "ring." The extent of suburbanization can then be measured by the percentage of a metropolitan area's population which resides in the suburban ring. Using this measure, it is easy to document that Negroes and

TABLE XII—Percent of Nonwhite Employed Males Engaged in White Collar Occupations, by Migration Status 1955–60, for Selected SMSA's

SMSA	Total Population	In-Migrants			Out-Migrants		
		Total	From Other SMSA	From Non-met Area	Total	To Other SMSA	To Non-met Area
NORTH							
Chicago	14.8	21.2	28.7	15.1	30.2	34.2	17.0
Cleveland	16.4	17.9	22.0	13.2	24.2	24.4	23.4
Detroit	14.9	24.7	31.3	15.1	18.4	19.0	15.8
New York	27.1	25.5	32.3	18.6	31.7	32.5	28.7
Philadelphia	18.4	21.3	28.6	14.0	26.6	27.6	23.0
St. Louis	17.1	21.0	28.4	14.7	25.8	28.2	17.3
SOUTH							
Atlanta	12.3	14.7	25.1	11.1	25.7	28.5	21.2
Baltimore	16.3	22.7	36.1	13.9	21.5	24.4	14.4
Birmingham	8.6	9.7	14.1	7.4	17.6	17.9	16.3
Memphis	11.3	14.0	24.3	11.6	18.0	18.3	17.1
New Orleans	12.8	10.9	20.7	7.1	24.9	24.9	25.0
Washington	28.2	29.3	40.0	21.1	37.6	42.2	24.3

Note: "White collar" includes professional, manager, clerical and sales occupations.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Mobility for Metropolitan Areas,* Final Report PC(2)–2C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 4 and 6.

whites have not shared equally in the movement to the suburbs. Although whites and Negroes are about equally concentrated in metropolitan areas, within metropolitan areas Negroes are confined to the central cities to a much greater extent than are whites (Table XIII). In all metropolitan areas combined, about half of the whites live in the suburban ring as compared to only 20 percent of Negroes. This underrepresentation of Negroes in suburban areas obtains within each region.

From 1900 to 1960, the concentration of metropolitan Negroes in central cities increased, in contrast to the suburbanization trend among the white population (Table XIV). As a result, the racial composition of cities and suburban rings has been altered. If the Negro and white populations of cities (or rings) changed at the same rate, then Negroes would remain a constant percentage of the total city or ring population. To the extent that

TABLE XIII—Metropolitan Distribution by Race and Region, 1960

Metropolitan Residence	Population (000)		Percent Distribution	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
CONTERMINOUS U.S.	**158,455**	**18,860**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Inside SMSA's	99,509	12,202	62.8	64.7
In Central City	47,575	9,704	30.0	51.5
In Ring	51,934	2,498	32.8	13.2
Outside SMSA's	58,946	6,658	37.2	35.3
NORTH	**89,525**	**6,475**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Inside SMSA's	60,102	6,010	67.1	92.8
In Central City	28,617	5,105	32.0	78.8
In Ring	31,485	905	35.2	14.0
Outside SMSA's	29,423	465	32.9	7.2
WEST	**25,453**	**1,074**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Inside SMSA's	18,220	997	71.6	92.8
In Central City	7,841	723	30.8	67.3
In Ring	10,379	274	40.8	25.5
Outside SMSA's	7,233	77	28.4	7.2
SOUTH	**43,477**	**11,312**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Inside SMSA's	21,187	5,194	48.7	45.9
In Central City	11,116	3,875	25.6	34.3
In Ring	10,071	1,319	23.2	11.7
Outside SMSA's	22,290	6,118	51.3	54.1

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), Table A 95–122; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, United States Summary,* Final Report PC(1)–1B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 56; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Selected Area Reports, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas,* Final Report PC(3)–1D (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 1.

the percent Negro in the city or ring increases, this indicates that the Negro population is growing at a faster rate than the white population. Similarly, a decline in the percent Negro in an area indicates that the white population is growing at a faster rate than the Negro population. In the North and West, both suburban rings and central cities have increased in percent Negro during 1900–60, indicating that the Negro population in both components of metropolitan areas was increasing more rapidly than the corresponding white population (Table XV). The percent

TABLE XIV—Percent of SMSA Population Residing in Central City by Race and Region, 1900–1960*

Race and Year	Conterminous United States	Region		
		North	West	South
NEGRO				
1960	79.5	84.9	72.5	74.6
1950	77.2	83.5	69.9	72.0
1940	74.6	81.1	78.3	69.5
1930	72.8	79.8	79.8	67.3
1920	67.2	78.0	83.8	61.1
1910	60.4	72.1	81.7	55.7
1900	54.5	68.6	80.3	49.5
WHITE				
1960	47.8	47.6	43.0	52.5
1950	56.6	58.1	49.6	57.3
1940	61.6	62.5	57.7	60.6
1930	63.9	64.4	61.5	63.6
1920	65.9	66.8	66.8	61.0
1910	64.9	66.4	65.3	56.0
1900	62.8	64.7	62.3	51.8

* SMSA's as defined in 1960.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Selected Area Reports, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas,* Final Report PC(3)–1D (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 1.

Negro in cities, however, rose to much higher levels than in rings. In Southern metropolitan areas, on the other hand, the percent Negro in the rings has declined rapidly, while the color composition of the cities has remained about the same.

Recent gains in the Negro population residing in some suburban rings, although small, have been hailed by some as the beginnings of large-scale suburbanward movement of Negroes. Such a forecast may well be correct, but a closer look at actual trends to date prompts a more cautious view. Not all parts of the suburban ring conform to the suburbia of the Sunday supplements. For illustrative purposes, consider the Chicago metropolitan area. The Negro population outside Chicago city increased from 44,000 to 78,000 between 1950 and 1960. More than half of the 34,000 increase went to neighborhoods in such industrial suburbs as Evanston, Joliet, North

Chicago, and similar places listed in Table XVI. These suburbs already had Negro communities in residentially segregated neighborhoods in 1950, and the addition of Negro population to these areas did not represent an opening up of suburbs in general to Negro residents. An additional one-fourth of the increased Negro population in Chicago's suburban ring is accounted for by the addition of Negro population to existing or newly created "Negro suburbs," entire communities or separate sections of communities developed expressly for the purpose of providing new suburban housing for Negroes. There are several such developments in Cook County just southwest of Chicago. The net gain of Negro population in all the rest of the suburban area surrounding Chicago was less than 6,000 in the entire decade.

Moderate increases in the number of Negroes have produced large percentage increases in Negro suburban population elsewhere than in Chicago. There is little evidence, as yet, that much of this suburbanization is different from the expansion of Negro residential areas within the central cities, except that it is taking place outside the city limits. Clearly little of it represents the development of integrated residential patterns.

Urban Residential Segregation

Within the central cities of our large metropolitan areas dwell a high proportion of the nation's Negroes. Not only are these Negroes virtually absent from most of suburbia, but they are virtually absent from many residential neighborhoods within these cities. Individual city neighborhoods throughout the country tend to be occupied either by Negroes or by whites, with few areas of sustained racial intermixture on a residential basis. Civil rights struggles for open occupancy, against *de facto* school segregation and against a variety of other forms of segregation in parks, libraries and other public facilities have called attention to the prevalence of racial residential segregation in many cities. A recent study has documented the prevalence of residential segregation by examining data for individual city blocks from the 1940, 1950 and 1960 censuses. If race were not a factor in where a person lives, and whites and nonwhites had similar socio-economic characteristics, then every city block might be expected to have the same proportion of white and nonwhite residents as every other block. In fact, the data reveal very clearly that blocks tend to be occupied by whites or by nonwhites, with relatively few blocks having a high degree of intermixture. With these data it was possible to demonstrate that residential segregation is not characteristic only of Northern cities or only of

TABLE XV—Percent Negro in Central City and Suburban Ring by Region, 1900–1960*

Residence and Year	Conterminous United States	Region		
		North	West	South
TOTAL SMSA				
1960	10.8	9.1	5.1	19.6
1950	9.4	6.9	3.9	20.4
1940	8.0	5.0	1.7	22.4
1930	7.5	4.4	1.4	22.9
1920	6.8	3.1	1.1	24.6
1910	6.7	2.4	1.1	27.4
1900	7.4	2.4	1.0	30.7
CENTRAL CITY				
1960	16.8	15.1	8.2	25.8
1950	12.4	9.6	5.4	24.3
1940	9.6	6.4	2.3	24.8
1930	8.4	5.5	1.8	23.9
1920	6.9	3.6	1.5	24.6
1910	6.3	2.6	1.3	27.5
1900	6.5	2.5	1.3	29.6
RING				
1960	4.6	2.8	2.5	11.6
1950	5.2	2.8	2.4	14.3
1940	5.5	2.6	0.9	18.2
1930	5.7	2.6	0.7	21.0
1920	6.5	2.1	0.5	24.5
1910	7.5	2.0	0.5	27.4
1900	8.9	2.1	0.5	31.7

* SMSA's as defined in 1960.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Selected Area Reports, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas,* Final Report PC(3)–1D (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 1.

Southern cities. Every city with a sizable Negro population displays a high degree of residential segregation, regardless of region or size, regardless of whether it is a manufacturing center, a trade center or a suburb. Sometimes groups protesting housing discrimination in a city contend that their city

TABLE XVI—Negro Population in 1950 and 1960 of Selected Chicago Suburbs

Suburb	Negro Population 1960	Negro Population 1950	Change 1950–60	Percent Negro, 1960
INDUSTRIAL SUBURBS				
Aurora	2,227	1,151	1,076	3.5
Chicago Heights	6,529	4,109	2,420	19.0
Elgin	1,595	768	827	3.2
Evanston	9,126	6,994	2,132	11.5
Harvey	1,986	1,010	976	6.8
Joliet	4,638	1,950	2,688	6.9
Maywood	5,229	2,500	2,729	19.1
North Chicago	4,577	832	3,745	23.4
Waukegan	4,485	2,313	2,172	8.0
TOTAL			18,765	
"NEGRO SUBURBS"				
Dixmoor	1,855	554	1,301	60.3
East Chicago Heights	2,794	1,190	1,604	85.4
Markham	2,505	66	2,439	21.4
Phoenix	2,744	1,461	1,283	65.3
Robbins	7,410	4,729	2,681	98.7
TOTAL			9,308	
Total Ring of Chicago SMSA	77,517	43,640	33,877	2.9

Note: The designation of a suburb as "industrial" is based upon data for manufacturing establishments and employment and amount of commuting to Chicago to work, as described in the suburban histories of the Kitagawa and Taeuber volume cited below.

SOURCE: Evelyn M. Kitagawa and Karl E. Taeuber, *Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area 1960* (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1963); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. I, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 15, Illinois (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables 21 and 22; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 13, Illinois (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), Tables 34 and 38.

is the most segregated in the country. Examination of the census data indicates that this type of segregation is found in all American cities, and that no city can lay claim to being much more or much less segregated than any other.

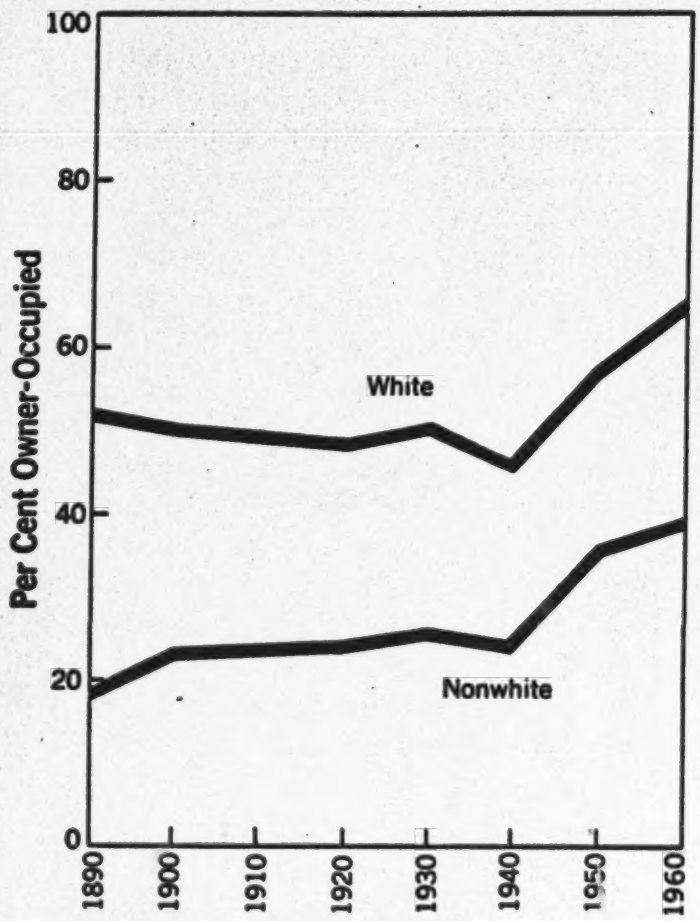
HOUSING OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

Trends in Homeownership

Today more than 1.5 million Negro families are homeowners, and owners make up nearly 40 percent of Negro households. Despite this impressive achievement, Negroes still lag behind whites in homeownership, and in a variety of indicators of housing quality and amenities.

Trends in homeownership in the United States, pictured in Figure 7, tell a surprising story. From the earliest period for which reliable statistics are available, in 1890, until sometime after World War II, a minority of Americans were homeowners. For whites, the homeownership rate varied

FIGURE 7—Percent Owner-Occupied by Color: Conterminous United States 1890–1960



Note: Data for 1910 not available.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Housing: 1960*, Vol. I, *States and Small Areas, United States Summary*, Final Report HC(1)–1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table H.

around 50 percent until 1940. It was only during the post-war period of economic prosperity, accompanied by high levels of accumulated savings, high rates of marriage and household formation and extensive governmental programs to facilitate homeownership, that the balance was finally tilted strongly in favor of ownership. In the two decades from 1940 to 1960 (and mainly in the fifteen years from 1945 to 1960) homeownership among whites climbed from 45 percent of households to 64 percent. The levels of homeownership among nonwhites have always been much lower than among whites, but the trend has been rather similar. From 1900 to 1940, the percent owners among nonwhites remained steady at 24–25, and then increased sharply to 38 percent in 1960.

For both Negroes and whites, the first thirty years of this century were a period of increasing income and wealth, which should have augmented homeownership. These years were also a time of rapid urbanization, however, and the move to cities inhibited the growth of ownership which otherwise would have occurred. Particularly prior to the days of mass automobile ownership and easy transportation over long distances, cities tended of necessity to be settled very densely. Under such circumstances, multiple-dwelling units predominated over single-family dwellings. In addition, millions of the immigrants from Europe and white and Negro migrants from rural America came to cities in search of economic opportunities. Despite considerable improvement in the economic well-being of many of these migrants over their former circumstances, their incomes were not high in relation to the cost of urban housing.

The prevalence of homeownership varies greatly in different parts of the country, in different types of areas, in different cities and even in different parts of a single city. To a great extent these differences are determined when an area is first built up, for single-family detached dwellings are usually for purchase, and multiple-unit dwellings are for rent. Old units which were once owned may be converted into rental units, but the reverse seldom happens.

For nonwhites, in 1960, 30 percent of housing units in metropolitan areas of the North were owner-occupied. These nonwhites live chiefly in the old central portions of cities that were built up in the dense tenement pattern prevailing many decades ago. In the South this type of housing has always been less prevalent, and 39 percent of metropolitan nonwhites are owners. Outside of metropolitan areas in the South, the majority of nonwhites are also tenants in housing owned by others, but building codes are not as strict, inexpensive units are more common and 44 percent of the units are owner-occupied. For whites, the levels of ownership are much higher, but the variations tend to be similar. In Northern metropolitan

areas, ownership is 60 percent, in Southern metropolitan areas 66 percent, and in the small towns and rural areas of the South 67 percent.

Housing Characteristics of Whites and Nonwhites

Whether they are renters or owners, the housing obtained by nonwhites is less adequate or less desirable in many respects when compared to housing obtained by whites. Evidence for this statement is presented in Table XVII. Nonwhite households are more likely to live in substandard housing, more likely to be overcrowded, less likely to be in new housing and less likely to have amenities such as air-conditioning or an automobile. Nonwhite households are even less likely to own television sets. Television is lacking in 28 percent of nonwhite units as compared to only 11 percent of white units.

The reported value of housing occupied by nonwhites tends to be less than that for housing occupied by whites. This pattern is particularly clear for owner-occupied housing. Within Northern metropolitan areas, half of the units owned by whites are valued at more than $14,200, and half for less. The corresponding median value for nonwhites is $9,400. Similar differences obtain in the South. In the South, rents paid by nonwhites are also lower than those paid by whites—the median rent is $53 monthly for nonwhites in metropolitan areas of the South, as compared to $73 for whites. In the Northern metropolitan areas, however, the difference is small—$73 for nonwhites and $77 for whites.

There is considerable controversy over the question of whether nonwhite housing is inferior because nonwhites pay less, or whether because of segregation and discrimination nonwhites get even less quality than they should for what they pay. One careful study of the situation in Chicago in 1956 came to the conclusion that for roughly equivalent housing, nonwhites had to pay about fifteen dollars a month more than whites.[1] To the extent that Negroes, by virtue of residential segregation, have access to only a limited amount of housing, despite rapidly increasing numbers, then the laws of supply and demand operate in Negro residential areas to raise housing prices in relation to housing quality. However, this is a controversial topic, and it is difficult to determine what conditions would be like in the absence of discrimination.

Regardless of the source of white-Negro housing differences—whether due to segregation and discrimination in housing, or whether it is traced back to segregation and discrimination in the means of earning a livelihood

[1] Beverly Duncan and Philip M. Hauser, *Housing a Metropolis—Chicago* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960).

TABLE XVII—Selected Characteristics of Housing Units by Color, Tenure, Region and Inside or Outside SMSA's, 1960

Color and Characteristic	Inside SMSA's				Outside SMSA's	
	North		South		South	
	Owner	Renter	Owner	Renter	Owner	Renter
Number of housing units (000)						
White	11,060.5	7,285.5	4,165.5	2,160.5	4,301.6	2,119.3
Nonwhite	510.8	1,182.8	517.5	813.6	628.2	796.3
Percent substandard						
White	3.6	13.5	5.5	14.7	26.4	41.1
Nonwhite	10.4	28.0	29.8	46.8	71.7	89.4
Percent overcrowded						
White	7.1	13.4	8.5	19.1	12.1	24.8
Nonwhite	14.6	31.8	22.8	42.4	29.4	52.3
Percent built 1950–60						
White	33.5	11.3	49.9	25.1	33.2	20.1
Nonwhite	10.6	8.2	26.7	18.8	23.2	12.9
Percent air-conditioned						
White	14.1	9.7	32.5	20.2	16.6	9.8
Nonwhite	7.1	2.9	9.2	3.3	3.1	1.3
Percent with automobile						
White	87.4	61.1	90.6	73.8	83.9	74.9
Nonwhite	68.3	35.8	64.0	36.4	53.7	39.8
Median value, gross rent						
White	$14,200	$77	$11,800	$73	$7,400	$53
Nonwhite	$ 9,400	$73	$ 6,900	$53	$5,000—	$30
Percent with gross rent 35% or more of income						
White	—	18.6	—	20.0	—	18.6
Nonwhite	—	32.6	—	33.5	—	29.6

Note: Substandard units include dilapidated units and all other units lacking some or all plumbing facilities. The measure of overcrowding relates the number of units with 1.01 or more persons per room to the number of multiple-person households.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Housing: 1960, Metropolitan Housing*, Final Report HC(2)–1 through 10 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Tables B–3, B–7, B–13, C–3, C–7, and C–13.

—Negroes usually pay a high proportion of their low incomes for their housing, whether good or bad. Nearly one-third of nonwhite renters, as compared to one-fifth of white renters, spends more than 35 percent of their annual income on rent (Table XVII). Interpretation of these figures can lead to very tricky problems in economic theory, but it is clear that the gap between Negroes and whites is much greater in income than in amounts actually spent on housing, and that the housing obtained by Negroes is much inferior to that obtained by whites.

Sources of the Housing Supply

The number of nonwhite households has been increasing quite rapidly in recent decades, particularly within metropolitan areas. Yet only a small proportion of housing occupied by nonwhites is new. Obviously much of the additional housing required by increasing Negro population is obtained "hand-me-down" from whites. In connection with the 1960 census, a special investigation was made of these processes of change in the housing inventory. Understanding of the housing circumstances of Negroes and of the processes of neighborhood change occurring in cities throughout the country can be facilitated by studying the rather complex reports of this investigation.

What are the types of change which can affect the stock of housing and its racial composition? First, of course, is the addition of units by new construction. Additional units can also be obtained by converting one unit into two or more units by adding partitions and plumbing facilities. Garages, lofts and other nonresidential structures can be converted to residential use. Housing units may be lost through deliberate demolition for highways, urban renewal or other purposes, and through accidental demolition as by fire. Units can be merged together to create a single larger unit, and units can be converted to nonresidential use. During the 1950–59 period, the available stock of housing was affected by all of these types of change. Most of the housing inventory in 1959, however, had existed in 1950 and was retained through the decade. An additional complication arises when race of the occupant is considered, for although a housing unit may be the same in 1959 as in 1950, it may have been transferred from white to Negro occupancy or from Negro to white occupancy.

This scheme for accounting for what happens to housing during a decade is put to use in Table XVIII, where data from the 1959 National Housing Inventory are assembled to show the source of housing occupied by whites and nonwhites in 1959. To simplify the discussion, reference will be made mainly to the figures for all metropolitan housing in the United States.

TABLE XVIII—Sources of 1959 Housing Inventory, by Color, Region and Inside or Outside SMSA's

Color and Source of 1959 Housing Inventory	U.S. Total		North	South	
	Inside SMSA's	Outside SMSA's	Inside SMSA's	Inside SMSA's	Outside SMSA's
Nonwhite-occupied dwelling units, 1959					
Total, in thousands	3,249.0	1,527.0	1,618.6	1,136.5	1,309.0
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Same units, 1950–59	75.3	78.3	81.2	68.7	80.0
White-occupied, 1950	30.1	9.6	40.5	14.6	7.8
Nonwhite-occupied, 1950	36.7	52.7	32.9	44.8	56.1
New construction	13.4	15.7	6.4	19.7	14.4
Conversion	5.5	2.0	6.9	5.1	1.3
Other	5.8	4.0	5.5	6.5	4.3
White-occupied dwelling units, 1959					
Total, in thousands	29,711.4	18,468.0	18,138.8	5,946.3	7,060.4
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Same units, 1950–59	66.1	71.6	71.0	58.0	68.8
White-occupied, 1950	58.7	60.3	64.2	49.1	56.0
Nonwhite-occupied, 1950	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.5
New construction	29.0	22.5	23.8	37.1	26.1
Conversion	2.6	2.2	3.0	2.5	1.7
Other	2.3	3.7	2.2	2.4	3.4

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Housing: 1960*, Vol. IV, *Components of Inventory Change*, Final Report HC(4), Part 1A, No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), Tables 1, 2, and 4.

In late 1959, there were about 3,249,000 dwelling units occupied by nonwhites in metropolitan areas. Three-fourths of these were "same units," units that existed in 1950, and were retained in use through 1959. Of same units, somewhat under one-half had been occupied by whites in 1950, and somewhat over half had then, as now, been occupied by nonwhites. (Some units which were vacant in 1950 or for which the color of the 1950 occupant could not be determined are not shown separately in the table.) One-fourth of nonwhite housing in 1959 remains to be accounted for. About 13 percent came from housing built during the decade, 5.5 percent came from conversion of one or more large units into two or more smaller ones, and 6 percent came from miscellaneous other sources.

Sources of metropolitan housing for white occupancy display a different pattern. New construction was much more important for whites, accounting for 29 percent of their housing in 1959. Only 5 percent came from conversion or miscellaneous sources combined. Two-thirds of the housing occupied by whites had existed in essentially the same form in 1950. In contrast to nonwhites, who obtained one-third of their housing from units formerly occupied by whites, only one out of every three hundred units occupied by whites was obtained from nonwhites.

The major regional variations in these patterns can be specified briefly for metropolitan housing. In the North, nonwhites obtained only 6 percent of their housing from new construction, and another 7 percent from conversion. More than 40 percent of their housing came from units occupied by whites ten years before. In the South, nonwhites obtained much more new housing (20 per cent) and there was much less transfer of dwellings from white to nonwhite occupancy.

One other piece of information from the National Housing Inventory may be noted. Nonwhites occupied a far higher proportion of units which were demolished during the decade than their share in the population would indicate. These demolitions included many due to highway construction and private redevelopment in addition to those undertaken for slum clearance and urban renewal. In their abstract technical way, these statistics help tell the story of thousands of urban Negroes forced to relocate, despite the difficulties encountered by Negroes in locating suitable housing.

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND HEALTH CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGROES

Negroes today are confronted with a wide variety of social problems, some of them the heritage of slavery, all of them a reflection of their current position in American society. At Emancipation, most Negroes were illiterate, lived in the rural South, worked in agriculture (primarily as laborers) and received little cash income. Marriage was not a stable institution; large proportions of children were illegitimate and lived in families where a woman was the effective head. Sanitary conditions were often bad, medical and hygienic knowledge slight and death rates high. The history of the Negro since Emancipation has been one of absorption into a changing industrial society. For many of the characteristics which dis-

tinguished the position of the Negro from that of the white, the century since Emancipation has been one of gradual but not yet completed convergence of the races.

The topics touched upon in this section are especially difficult to discuss briefly. Several of them are subject to more extensive analysis in later chapters. Here the attempt is to emphasize the mutual interrelations, omitting some of the technical complexities and regional variations.

Educational Attainment

In 1870, about 80 percent of nonwhites were illiterate, and fifty years later the figure was down to 23 percent. Not until 1959 was illiteracy down to 7.5 percent, a level attained by whites seventy years earlier. Although Negroes have to a considerable degree caught up with whites in ensuring that their children receive at least a primary education, there is still a large lag at the higher educational levels.

Virtually all children between the ages of seven and thirteen, white and Negro, are enrolled in school. The percentage enrolled, however, falls off faster for nonwhites than for whites. At ages 14–17, the enrollment in the fall of 1962 was 87 percent for nonwhites, 93 per cent for whites. At ages 18–19, beyond the ages of compulsory attendance, the percentages dropped to 33 and 43 percent, respectively, and at ages 20–24, to 10 and 16 percent.

School attendance, of course, is not a valid measure of education actually received. There are substantial differences in the extent of age-grade retardation. For example, of 18–19 year-olds enrolled in school, 78 percent of the whites as compared to 50 percent of the nonwhites in 1962 were enrolled in college. Quality of education is more difficult to measure. If it is related to the educational attainment of teachers and the per capita expenditure on schooling, then nearly all Southern Negroes and the great bulk of Northern Negroes who attend predominantly Negro schools receive inferior education.

By age twenty-five most persons have completed their schooling. Examination of trends in the median years of school completed for whites and nonwhites in the 25–29 age group suggests convergence between the two groups during the last twenty-two years (Table XIX). While the figure for white males advanced from 10.5 school years in 1940 to 12.5 in 1962, the figure for nonwhites increased from 6.5 to 11.0. Nonwhites in the North and West report higher levels of education than do those in the South, while levels in the urban South greatly exceed those in the rural South. As Negroes have moved in large numbers from the rural South to the cities of all regions, they have improved their educational opportunities and attainment.

TABLE XIX—Median Years of School Completed by Persons 25–29 Years Old, by Color and Sex, 1940–1962

Date	Male			Female		
	White	Nonwhite	Percentage, Nonwhite of White	White	Nonwhite	Percentage, Nonwhite of White
April, 1940	10.5	6.5	61.9	10.9	7.5	68.8
March, 1957	12.3	9.4	76.4	12.3	10.3	83.7
March, 1959	12.5	10.9	87.2	12.4	11.0	88.7
March, 1962	12.5	11.0	88.0	12.4	11.4	91.9
Increase, 1940–62	2.0	4.5		1.5	3.9	

SOURCE: 1962 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Educational Attainment: March 1962," *Current Population Reports*, Series P–20, No. 121, Tables 2 and 3; all other years from U.S. Department of Labor, *The Economic Status of Negroes in the United States*, Bulletin S–3, Revised 1962, Table 17.

Educators have long recognized that a person's family background, even in a society which provides free public education, affects whether the child attends school and how far he progresses in school. A recent special survey by the Bureau of the Census revealed that college attendance is much more frequent among children of high school and college graduates than among children of parents with only a grade school education. Because of past differences between Negroes and whites, however, Negro children are much more likely than white children to come from those families which send few children on to college. Among families at each educational level, however, nonwhites were less likely to have children enrolled in college than whites. If a high percentage of Negro children fail to surmount this handicap, then they will become yet another generation of parents who are poorly educated, and whose children in turn are handicapped by lack of a family background encouraging educational attainment.

This vicious circle in educational attainment is difficult to break. Education takes place early in life, and is seldom continued after a person first leaves school. By the time a person reaches age twenty-five, therefore, he has reached the educational level which he will retain throughout the rest of his life. Persons who reach adulthood with low educational attainment must live out their life span before they can be replaced by persons with higher levels. Even if Negroes reaching ages 25–29 matched the educational achievements of whites, it would be more than a generation before educational levels in the total adult Negro population caught up with those in the white population.

TABLE XX—Percent Distribution of Major Occupation of Experienced Civilian Labor Force by Educational Attainment and Color for Males Aged 35–44 in Central Cities of Urbanized Areas, 1960

Years of School Completed and Color	Total *	Professional, Technical	Managers, Officials	Clerical	Sales Workers	Craftsmen, Foremen	Operatives	Service Workers	Laborers
Total									
White	100.0	13.3	13.9	8.7	8.4	23.5	21.0	6.2	5.0
Nonwhite	100.0	4.8	3.5	8.5	1.7	13.9	30.9	15.4	21.3
None									
White	100.0	1.2	4.0	2.3	2.1	18.9	29.7	13.2	28.6
Nonwhite	100.0	—	2.8	2.6	—	8.1	30.3	17.7	38.5
Elementary, 1–4 years									
White	100.0	0.8	3.5	2.6	2.6	23.0	36.2	11.5	19.8
Nonwhite	100.0	0.3	1.4	2.4	0.7	11.4	32.8	14.0	37.0
Elementary, 5–7 years									
White	100.0	1.0	4.9	3.9	2.8	28.3	37.7	8.4	13.0
Nonwhite	100.0	0.4	1.8	2.5	0.7	13.8	35.1	15.2	30.5
Elementary, 8 years									
White	100.0	1.2	6.3	5.5	3.9	29.0	36.7	7.8	9.6
Nonwhite	100.0	0.8	2.3	4.2	1.1	15.1	35.7	16.9	23.9
High School, 1–3 years									
White	100.0	2.8	9.6	8.1	6.2	30.3	29.6	7.5	5.9
Nonwhite	100.0	1.0	3.0	8.3	1.4	14.7	35.6	17.0	19.0
High School, 4 years									
White	100.0	7.6	16.0	12.2	10.7	26.8	17.2	6.7	2.8
Nonwhite	100.0	3.1	5.0	16.2	3.2	16.2	27.2	16.1	13.0
College, 1–3 years									
White	100.0	19.4	24.7	12.2	16.1	14.7	7.6	4.1	1.2
Nonwhite	100.0	11.1	7.7	21.9	3.3	14.5	19.4	14.3	7.8
College, 4+ years									
White	100.0	57.5	20.8	5.9	8.8	4.2	1.3	1.1	0.4
Nonwhite	100.0	58.4	9.4	13.9	2.6	3.9	4.5	5.4	1.9

* Occupation not reported excluded.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Educational Attainment*, Final Report PC(2)–5B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 8.

Occupation and Income

The legacy of lower educational levels among the Negro population would be expected to be reflected in a concentration in the lower occupational levels. At each level of educational attainment, however, Negroes obtain a smaller proportion of upper level jobs than do whites with the same amount of education. Illustrative data are presented in Table XX for males aged 35–44 in 1960. For these men, the disparity between whites and nonwhites in occupational levels is greatest at the intermediate levels of education (where most of the population is found) and least at the lowest and highest levels of education. Apparently for persons with little formal education, few occupations are open, whether the person is white or nonwhite. At the college graduate level, nonwhites do fairly well in terms of broad occupational categories—perhaps because of the many outlets for professional employment within the Negro community as teachers, clergymen, doctors and lawyers serving a Negro clientele.

Some of the advancement in occupational status which has occurred for Negroes derives from an increase from 214,000 to over one million Negroes employed in Federal, state and local governments between 1940 and 1962. Much of the advancement in occupational levels, like that in educational levels, results from the migration of Negroes from areas with few economic opportunities to the rapidly growing metropolitan focal points of the expanding national economy.

The chief source of income for most Negro families is the wages received for their labor. With the twin disadvantages of lower educational attainment and lower occupational levels at each educational level, Negroes must be expected to fare much worse than whites in the amount of income they receive. Median family income for white families rose from $3,157 in 1947 to $6,237 in 1962, and for nonwhite families from $1,614 to $3,330. Throughout this post-war period the nonwhite figure remained about one-half of the figure for whites, and there was no discernible trend in the relationship. During the Second World War, the income of nonwhites increased faster than the income of whites, but changes in the post-war period have mainly been due to the regional migration of nonwhites from low-wage areas to high-wage areas. Nonwhite incomes are particularly low in the South, whereas in the North and West they receive as much as Southern whites, though still less than Northern and Western whites (Table XXI).

Basic to an individual's ability to get along in an industrial society is his training and education, which fit him for an occupation. A job, in turn,

provides his principal source of income and largely determines the style of life he will be able to maintain for himself and his children. The preceding discussion shows that at several critical junctures in the life history of Negroes they are unable to keep pace with whites. In comparison with whites, Negroes complete less formal schooling, obtain poorer jobs than do whites with comparable levels of education, and apparently are rewarded by receiving lower earnings than do whites with similar educations and occupations. It was recently estimated that the average nonwhite with four years of college can expect to earn less over his lifetime than the average white who did not go beyond the eighth grade. The close relationships between education, occupation and income, however, suggest that reduction in discrimination might have a cumulative impact on the economic welfare of Negroes.

Family and Fertility

The Negro family under slavery was an unstable arrangement, for there was little security in the bond of marriage or parenthood. Fertility must have been high, for death rates were high and yet the Negro population increased by more than the number of slaves imported. There is evidence that at least since 1850, birth rates among Negroes have been higher than among whites. The historical trends, however, are difficult to document, and the statistical picture begins about 1920. Higher birth rates among Negroes since 1920 are apparent in Figure 8.

TABLE XXI--Median Total Money Income of Males 14 Years Old and Over, by Region and Color, 1960

Region	White	Nonwhite	Percentage, Nonwhite of White
U.S. Total	$4,297	$2,258	52.5
Northeast	$4,605	$3,513	76.3
North Central	$4,429	$3,359	75.8
South	$3,361	$1,255	37.3
West	$5,043	$3,692	73.2

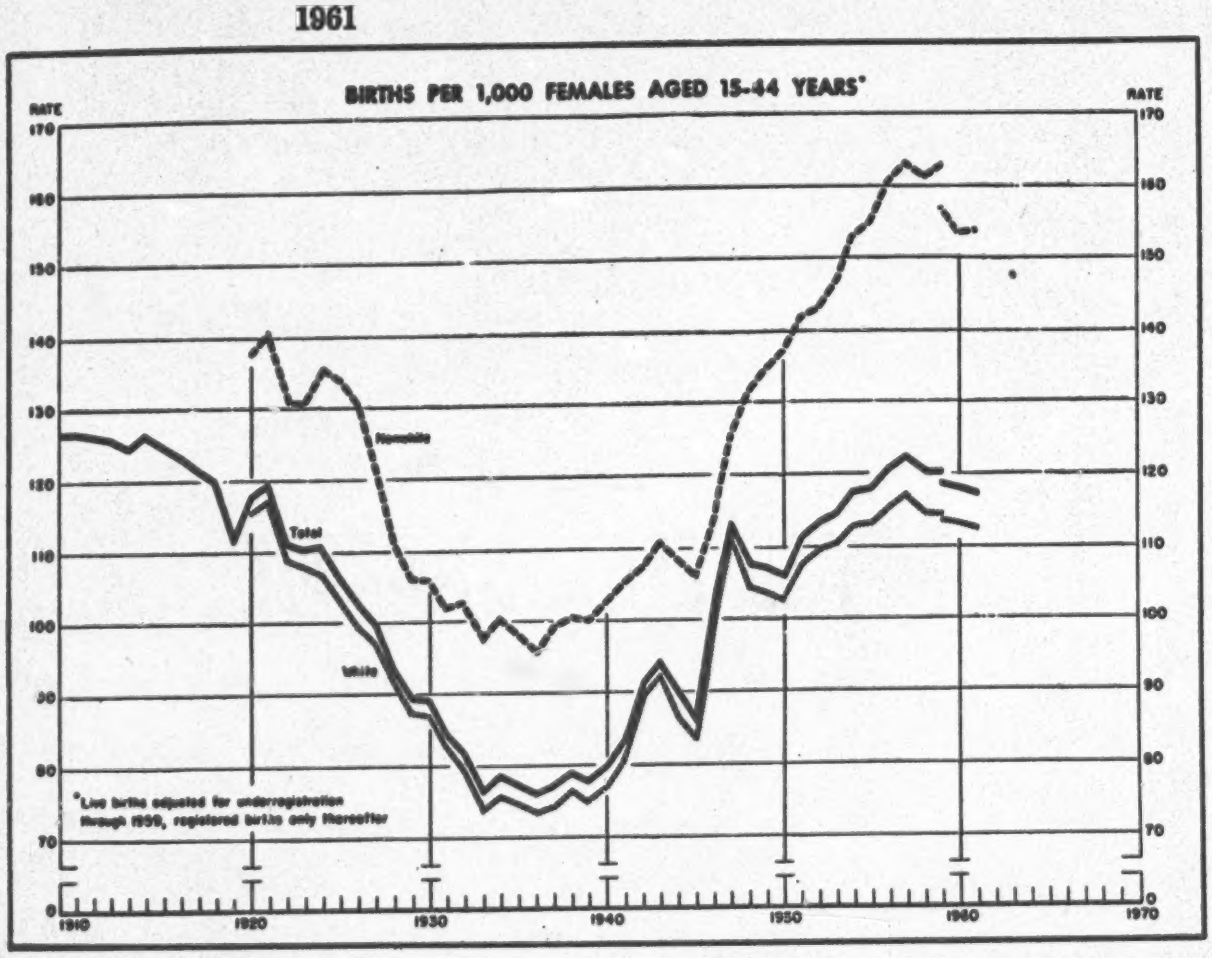
SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1960," *Current Population Reports*, Series P–60, No. 37, Table 34.

Various aspects of population distribution and social structure are related to fertility patterns. Farm families and other rural families, for instance,

tend to have more children than city families. Part of the high fertility among Negroes, then, can be attributed to their population concentration in the rural South. Since 1910, of course, Negroes have been leaving the rural South in great numbers and moving to cities where they have tended to display a lower rate of child-bearing. Whites were also moving from high fertility areas to low fertility areas, however, and the Negro-white difference persisted. In fact, during the 1920's and the first half of the 1930's, birth rates among both Negroes and whites fell rapidly, and both races rose sharply during World War II and the postwar "baby boom."

Since 1947, birth rates among Negroes and whites have followed divergent paths. White fertility diminished a bit after the peak during the baby boom, rose during the early 1950's, and has since entered a period of gradual decline. Negro fertility, by contrast, continued increasing after 1947

FIGURE 8—Births per 1,000 Females Aged 15–44 Years,* by Color, 1920–1961



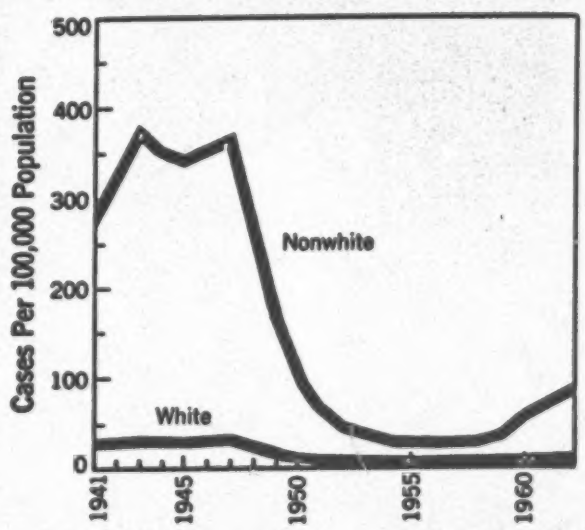
Note: Live births adjusted for underregistration through 1959; registered births, 1959-1961.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Health, Education, and Welfare Indicators,* March, 1963 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), p. xxvi.

for another ten years. Only in the last few years have Negro birth rates reached a plateau, with some signs of a slight decline. Birth rates among Negroes are now far higher than among whites. Continuation of current rates of births and deaths for a generation would result in an increase in population of 60 percent for whites and 100 percent for Negroes. The dramatic fluctuations which have occurred in birth rates in recent decades, however, suggest how hazardous it would be to assume that birth rates among Negroes or whites will continue unchanged, and it would be equally hazardous to predict just what changes will take place.

Historically, Negroes in comparison with whites have had more childlessness among married couples, as well as a higher proportion of couples with large numbers of children. The net balance has been an average number of children per couple only slightly above the figure for whites. The childlessness among Negro couples, however, may often have been involuntary—venereal disease may well have placed a prominent role in Negro infertility. Since 1940, venereal disease has been largely brought under control, and many couples who might have remained childless due to disease are now able to bear children in the same numbers as other couples. The incidence of venereal disease is not known with high accuracy, but Figure 9 portrays the rapid decline in the rate of reported cases of

FIGURE 9—Primary and Secondary Syphilis Cases per 100,000 Population, by Color, 1941–1962.



Note: Data not available for 1942 and 1946. Data include Alaska beginning with 1959 and Hawaii beginning with 1960.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Health, Education, and Welfare Trends,* 1963 Edition (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 18.

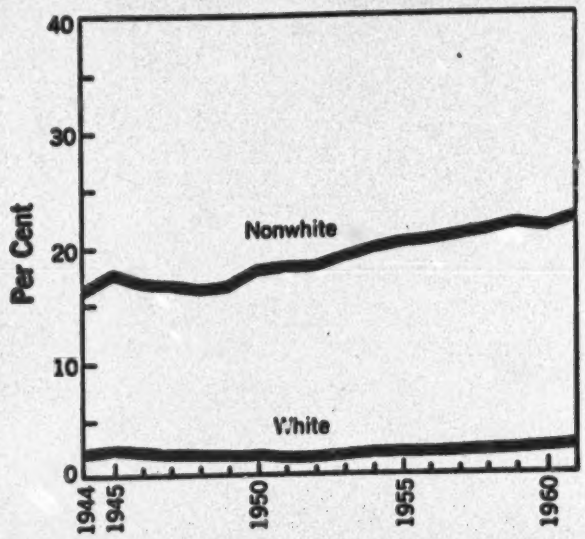
syphilis during the post-war years. The figure also shows the resurgence in syphilis cases in the last few years which has alarmed public health personnel, although the rates are still far below levels obtaining in past decades.

In the post-war period, for both Negroes and whites, the proportion of women never marrying has declined, as has the proportion of married women remaining childless. Childbearing in the teens and early twenties has become much more prevalent. Both whites and Negroes appear to have developed a pattern of youthful marriage and early childbearing. These patterns probably reflect a high level of economic welfare and readily obtainable credit for home-buying and the purchase of other durable goods, as well as more permanent social changes. A better assessment can be made a few years from now, when it should be apparent whether the current plateaus in birth rates are the beginnings of a significant downturn, or whether fertility will continue at the high levels maintained throughout the post-war period.

Not all babies are born to mothers who are married. Illegitimacy is not uncommon in the United States, and has been increasing in recent years among both Negroes and whites. More than half of the nation's illegitimate births occur to white mothers, but rates of illegitimacy are far higher among Negroes (Figure 10). Many sociologists think Negro illegitimacy is historically connected to conditions under slavery, when marriage was unstable. The persistence of mother-centered families is facilitated by social conditions which consign many Negro males to failure in their task as breadwinners. Whatever the reasons, for both whites and Negroes, illegitimacy is particularly prevalent among young girls, with just under one-half of illegitimate births occurring to mothers under twenty years of age.

Crude birth rates are sometimes poor measures of fertility. For instance, in 1960 in Chicago birth rates among nonwhites were 37 per thousand population, as compared to 21 per thousand among whites. These rates are highly misleading. Nonwhites in Chicago include many who migrated to the city in the past twenty years, and who are still young. Many young white families, however, have moved to the suburbs, and white birth rates in the city are low in part because of the high proportion of older persons who are beyond the childbearing ages. If adjustments are made for age differences and for the greater proportion of single women among whites, the differences between the groups are considerably reduced. In fact, there is very little difference between whites and nonwhites in Chicago in patterns of marital fertility. There is about a 25 percent excess fertility of nonwhites, due to their high rates of illegiti-

FIGURE 10—Percent of Total Live Births Illegitimate, by Color, 1944–1961



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Health, Education, and Welfare Trends*, 1963 Edition (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 7.

macy.[2] Crude birth rates sometimes underlie assertions that Negroes are breeding at extreme rates, or that there is a population problem among U.S. Negroes comparable to that in many underdeveloped countries. Such claims cannot be sustained if the facts are examined with due care.

Of the many factors affecting marriage and fertility, urban and rural residence, levels of economic welfare and social status have traditionally been important. During the period of rapidly declining fertility in the 1920's, fertility tended to be lower among those higher in economic and social status, while those with lower status bore children at higher rates. Now that knowledge of family planning has spread throughout society, and some degree of family limitation characterizes couples in all social and economic groups, the former differentials in fertility seem to have diminished, and even to have been partially reversed. A detailed analysis cannot be undertaken here but some of the recent patterns among Negroes can be indicated, if only to illustrate the complexity of reproductive behavior.

The illustrative data here refer to women who were aged 35–44 and living in urbanized areas at the time of the 1960 census. These women had largely completed their childbearing, much of which occurred during the late 1930's and the 1940's. Women of different ages in 1960 bore their

[2] Evelyn M. Kitagawa and Philip M. Hauser, "Trends in Differential Fertility and Mortality in a Metropolis—Chicago," in Ernest W. Burgess and Donald J. Bogue (eds.), *Contributions to Urban Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

children during different time periods, and the patterns for them might differ. In Table XXII, there are three columns of data for each race: percent ever married; percent childless of those ever married; and children per 1,000 ever-married women. In this group of women, nearly all were married at least once, 93 percent among both whites and nonwhites. Of those ever married, about 13 percent of white women, but 25 percent of nonwhite women, never bore any children. This high proportion of childlessness among nonwhite women reduces the fertility of the total group. Despite this, the number of children per 1,000 ever-married women was 2,515 for nonwhites, as compared to 2,352 for whites.

TABLE XXII—Percent Ever Married, Percent Childless of Ever Married, and Number of Children Ever Born per 1,000 Ever-Married Women, for Women 35–44 Years Old, by Color and Educational Attainment, Urbanized Areas, 1960

Years of School Completed	Percent Ever Married		Percent Childless of Ever Married		Children Ever Born per 1,000 Ever-Married Women	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total	92.8	92.8	13.0	24.5	2,352	2,515
Less than 8 years	92.0	92.1	13.6	25.1	2,869	2,807
8 years	93.9	93.5	13.6	25.6	2,444	2,621
High school, 1–3 years	95.1	93.8	11.5	23.0	2,417	2,663
High school, 4 years	93.4	93.2	13.2	23.8	2,244	2,219
College, 1–3 years	91.9	92.4	13.7	27.2	2,259	2,029
College, 4+ years	83.5	87.9	14.7	27.1	2,235	1,649

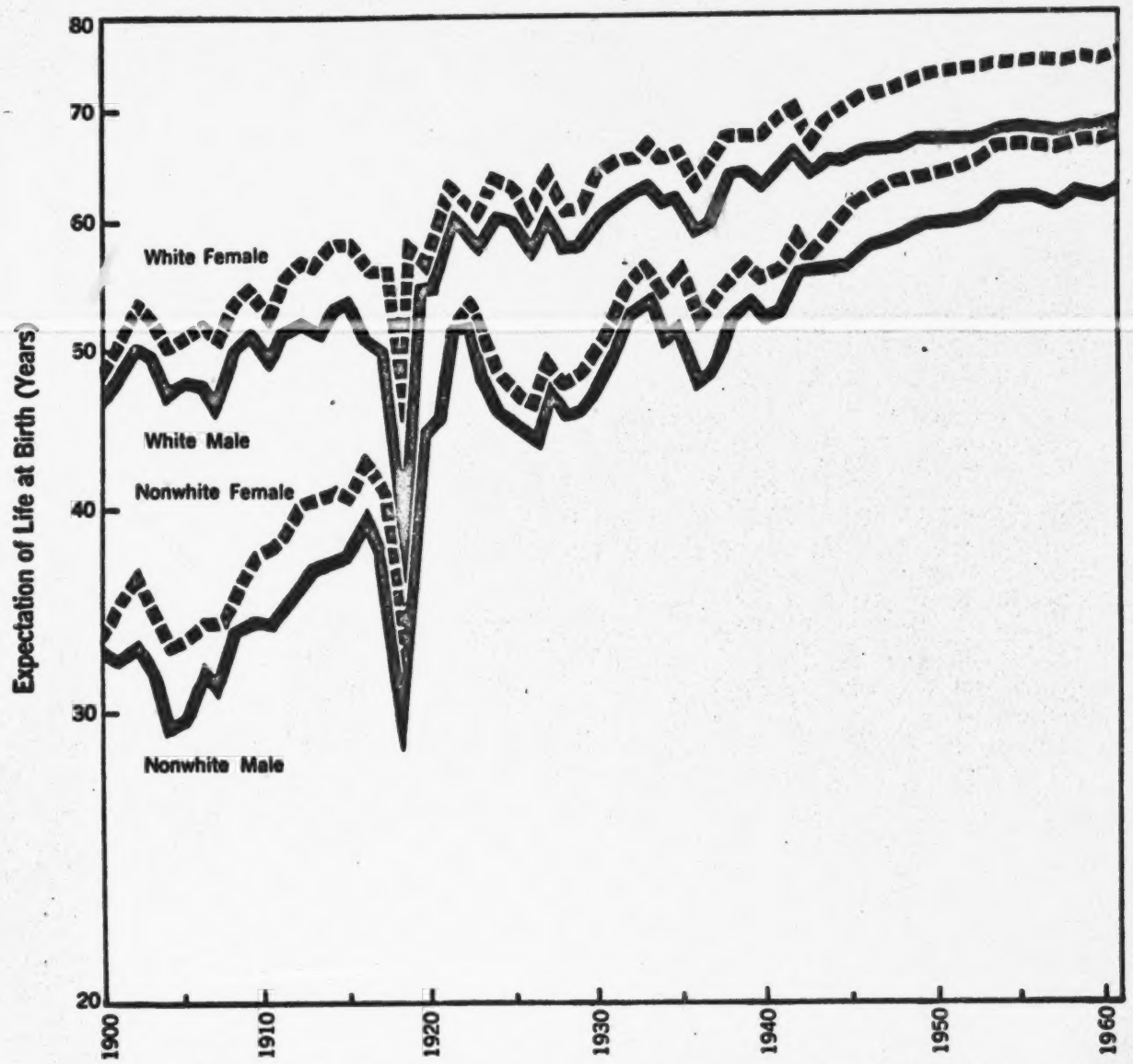
SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Women by Number of Children Ever Born*, Final Report PC(2)–3A (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), Tables 28 and 29.

If women are classified according to their education, there is a distinct pattern among both whites and nonwhites of higher fertility among those with least education. Particularly striking is the low level of fertility among nonwhite women who are college graduates. About 12 percent of these women never married, and 27 percent of those who married remained childless (among this group it is obvious that disease was not the major cause). Among these nonwhite college graduates, children per 1,000 ever-married women numbered 1,649, as compared to 2,807 among nonwhite women with less than eight grades of school, and 2,235 among white women

who are college graduates. At the highest educational levels, nonwhite fertility is less than white fertility.

Social scientists have been rather unsuccessful in their attempts to explain reproductive behavior. It is clear that among nonwhites, just as among

FIGURE 11—Expectation of Life at Birth, by Color and Sex, 1900–1961



Note: Data include Alaska beginning with 1959 and Hawaii beginning with 1960. Data refer to the death registration area, which did not include the total United States, until 1933.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), Series B 92–100; and National Vital Statistics Division, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1961*, Vol. II, Sec. 2, *Life Tables* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963).

whites, there are many different individuals, with many different characteristics. Their behavior in childbearing depends on their background, their education, their family status, the current occupation of husband and wife and similar social factors. Race is significant only as it involves the concentration of individuals with particular characteristics which are associated with high or low fertility.

Mortality and Health

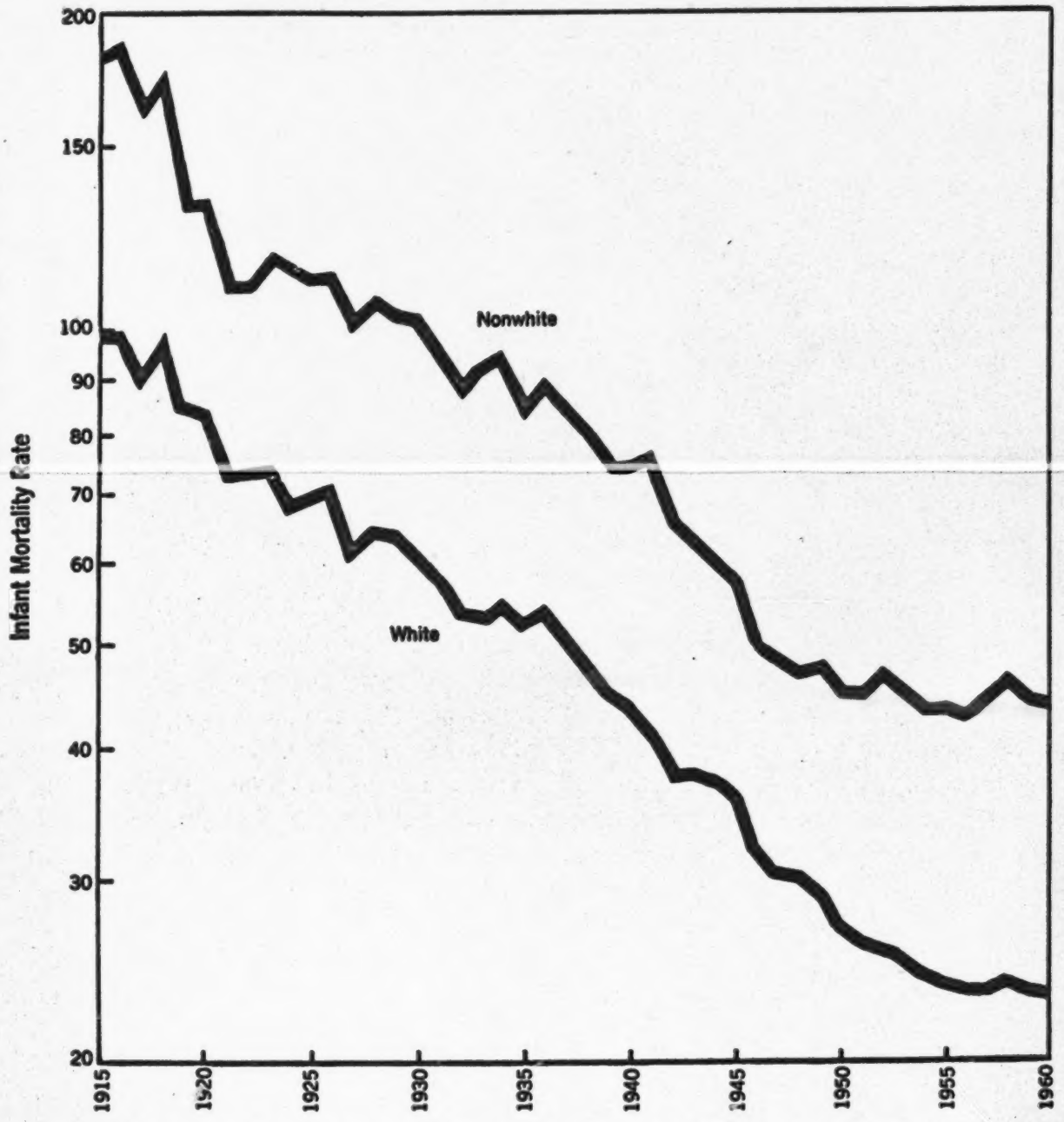
Poverty and illness are intertwined in complicated ways. Sustained periods of illness may hamper a man in his efforts to earn a livelihood, and place a limit on his income. Sustained periods of low income, on the other hand, can lead to overcrowding, inadequate nutrition, a low level of preventive medical care and an increased incidence of ill health. That many Negroes in the United States are economically less well off than most whites has been demonstrated above. Nonwhites see physicians less often than do whites, make less use of hospitals, and have fewer of their hospital bills paid by insurance. That Negroes suffer from higher death rates should therefore not be surprising.

Perhaps the best single measure of the general level of health among a population is the expectation of life at birth. This figure summarizes the death rates prevailing among people of all ages during a given year. It indicates the average length of life a newborn child can expect, given the current patterns of mortality. In 1900, white males in the United States had an expectation of life of 47 years, nonwhite males 32 years. In industrial societies the figures for women tend to be higher than those for men. Among females the white figure, 49 years, was nearly half again as large as the nonwhite figure, 34 years.

Death rates in the white population had already been falling for many decades prior to 1900, and continued to fall in succeeding years. The trend in expectation of life has been upward, with much annual fluctuation and a large interruption during the influenza epidemic of 1917–18 (Figure 11). The figures for nonwhites have followed somewhat the same path, but have shown an even sharper rate of increase. With improvements in levels of living, in hygienic knowledge and nutrition, in public health and general medical care, the gap between whites and nonwhites was considerably narrowed. In fact, by 1961 nonwhite females had nearly caught up with white males in expectation of life, 67.0 *vs.* 67.8 years.

Despite the remarkable trend toward convergence of white and nonwhite death rates, a gap still exists. In 1961, white babies had about seven more years of life to look forward to than did nonwhite babies. Many of

FIGURE 12—Infant Mortality Rate Per 1,000 Live Births, by Color, 1915–1960



Note: Data refer to the death registration area, which did not include the total United States until 1933.

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), Series B 101–112; and National Vital Statistics Division, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1960,* Vol. II, Sec. 3, *Infant Mortality* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 3–A.

that white-nonwhite differences follow the same pattern. Nonwhite death rates from tuberculosis, influenza and pneumonia are more than double those for whites, while the excess of the nonwhite rates is less for the other principal disease categories.

THE FUTURE NEGRO POPULATION

Forecasting the future is at best a tricky business, and the latest projections published by the U.S. Bureau of the Census show not one but four different estimates. According to these figures, the total population of the nation may increase from 192 million in mid-1964 to 248–276 million in 1985. If a major depression or war occurs, or some other factor produces radical changes in rates of birth, death or immigration, the actual figure in 1985 might well fall outside these limits.

The official projections do not include separate estimates for whites and Negroes. In 1960, Negroes constituted 10.6 percent of the total population. Since the rate of increase of Negro population has been greater than that of white population, it is likely that this percentage will slowly rise, to about 12 percent by 1985. The Negro population would then be about 30–33 million, as compared with 21 million in mid-1964. By extrapolation of recent trends in the distribution and composition of population, some reasonable guesses can be made about what changes to expect in where Negroes will be living and what their characteristics will be.

Changes in population distribution during past decades have already moved us beyond the position where problems of race relations can be regarded as regional, and the future will see a further spread of Negro population throughout the nation. The Negro population increase will probably accrue mainly to cities, and to cities in the North and West more than in the South. Well before 1985 a majority of the nation's Negro population may be living in Northern cities. Negroes may then comprise a majority or near-majority of the population in several large cities other than Washington, D.C., where they already outnumber whites. The Southern rural Negro population may continue to decrease in size, despite high fertility. Outmigrants from this population may be numerous, but they will be a diminishing share of all Negro migrants.

Large-scale migrations produce unusual age distributions in both the place of origin and of destination. Age distributions are further distorted by

fluctuations in fertility rates. For example, many of the Negroes who moved to cities in the early 1940's were young adults in the childbearing ages. There would have been sharp increases in the number of Negro babies in these cities even without the post-war "baby boom." Barring major catastrophes, it is obvious that if more babies were born from 1946 to 1951 than from 1940 to 1945, more children will be reaching age 18 from 1964 to 1969 than from 1958 to 1963. In many cities, problems such as those of school dropouts and the provision of jobs for new entrants to the labor force are rapidly becoming more difficult, in large part because the number of people in the relevant ages is growing.

Anticipating changes in the age distribution of a population is relatively easy. Anticipating changes in socio-economic characteristics is more difficult. Educational advancement seems fairly certain to continue at a rapid pace, with high school graduation becoming increasingly common and college graduation more frequent. Just how rapidly improvements in educational background can be translated into rising occupational and income levels depends on the business cycle, actions of the Federal Government, and other quite unpredictable factors.

Social change is continuous, and with change comes a diminution in the importance of old social problems and a rise in the importance of new ones. For example, although the problems of the illiterate Negro sharecropper newly arrived in a Northern industrial city are perhaps more acute than ever, the number of such migrants is small and diminishing. In contrast, continued growth of urban Negro populations if combined with maintenance of a high degree of residential segregation can only aggravate the many problems already attributable to *de facto* segregation. How well these problems will be met we cannot predict. They can certainly be better met if the social transformations of the past fifty years are recognized, and continuing rapid changes during the coming years are anticipated.

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